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**THE
PUNJAB SANSKRIT SERIES,
No. one.**

THE
PUNJAB SANSKRIT SERIES

OR

A COLLECTION OF RARE AND UNPUBLISHED
SANSKRIT WORKS

EDITED BY

THE WELL-KNOWN AND EMINENT SCHOLARS

OF

INDIA, EUROPE AND AMERICA

No I

LAHORE (INDIA)

THE PUNJAB SANSKRIT BOOK DEPOT

1921



* बार्हस्पत्य सूत्रम् *

अर्थात्

॥ बार्हस्पत्य अर्थशास्त्रम् ॥
BRIHASPATI SUTRA

OR

THE SCIENCE OF POLITICS ACCORDING TO THE SCHOOL
OF BRIHASPATI

EDITED WITH

AN INTRODUCTION AND ENGLISH TRANSLATION

BY

DR F W THOMAS, M A,

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THE DEVANAGARI TEXT

PREPARED FROM

HIS EDITION (IN ROMAN SCRIPT),

WITH

INTRODUCTORY REMARKS AND INDEXES

BY

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॥ ओ३म् ॥

विश्वानि देव सवितर्दुरितानि परासुव । यद्गद्रं तन्न आसुव ॥

INTRODUCTORY REMARKS

1 ANTIQUITY OF ARYAN POLITY

The Arthashâstias have been in existence in Aryavarta as a separate literature from very early times. The superiority of Dharmashâstias over Arthashâstias is referred to in the Smṛiti ascribed to *Yājñavalkya* in the following shloka —

स्मृत्योर्विरोधे न्यायस्तु बलवान्व्यवहारतः ।

अर्थशास्त्रात्तु बलवद्दर्मशास्त्रमिति स्थितिः ॥२।२१॥

The same is said in the *Bhaviṣya Purāṇa* as quoted in the *Apuṇika* —

स्मृत्यर्थेन विरोधे तु अर्थशास्त्रस्य बाधनम् ॥

Arthashastra remarks in the same way —

धर्मशास्त्रार्थशास्त्राभ्यामाविरोधेन यत्नतः ।

संपश्यमानो निपुण व्यवहारगति नयेत् ॥

यत्र विप्रतिपत्तिः स्याद्दर्मशास्त्रार्थशास्त्रयोः ।

अर्थशास्त्रोक्तमुत्सृज्य धर्मशास्त्रोक्तमाचरेत् ॥१।३७।३६॥

In his well-known Arthashâstri, *Kautilya* (not later than 3rd century B. C.) says that a literature bearing this title was extant in his days, and that he compiled his treatise after seeing the works of his predecessors. His words are —

पृथिव्या लाभे पालने च यावन्त्यर्थशास्त्राणि पूर्वाचार्यैः

प्रस्थापितानि प्रायशस्तानि संहृत्यैकमिदमर्थशास्त्रं कृतम् ।

(Second edition, p 1)

Not only Kautilya, but also works anterior to him refer to this literature. In *Caranaryûha* the forty-ninth *anvishita* of the *Atharvaveda* we read —

तत्र ऋग्वेदस्यार्थशास्त्रमुपवेदः ।

ब्रह्मवेदस्यायुर्वेदोपवेदः ।

अभिचारकार्यशास्त्रमित्युच्यते ॥ २ ॥

This second view that the Arthashâstra is the *paveda* of Rigveda is held in the *Caranaryûha* ascribed *Shaunaka*

वेदानामुपवेदाश्चत्वारो भवन्ति ।

अथर्ववेदस्य 'अर्थशास्त्रम्' । (चतुर्थः खण्डः) ।

It is clear then that Arthashâstra claims a great antiquity in the history of Sanskrit literature.

BRIHASPATI AND HIS ARTHASHASTRA

Pancatantra (*textus simplicior* 1. th century A D according to Dr J Hertel) has a reference to a *nîti* maxim of Brihaspati

सुकृतं विष्णुगुप्तस्य मित्राग्निर्भागवस्य च ।

बृहस्पतेरविश्वासो* नीतिसान्धिलिप्तिः स्थितः ॥२।४१॥

Bhoja in his *Yuktikalpataru* (11th century A D) while referring to the *nîti* literature says —

*Compare with this the teaching of Mahâbhârata —

विश्वासयेत्पराश्चैव निश्चसेच्च न कस्यचित् ।

पुत्रेष्वपि हि राजेन्द्र विश्वासो न प्रशस्यते ॥

अविश्वासो नरेन्द्राणां गुह्यं परममुच्यते ॥महा०शा०८५।३३।३४॥

नीतिर्बृहस्पतिप्रोक्ता तथैवौशनसीपरा ।

उभयोरयिरुद्धात्र निरूप्या नीतिरुत्तमा ॥ p,2

Ashvaghosha in his *Bhauha Carita* (about first century A D) has remarked about Brihaspati —

यद्राजशास्त्र भृगुरद्विरा वा न चरुतुर्गशकराट्पी तौ ।

तयोः मुतौतौ च ससर्जतुस्नात् सन्नेन शुक्रश्च बृहस्पतिश्च ॥ १४६ ॥

The well-known *Ādmasūtras* of Vātsyāyana not only refer to Brihaspati as the compiler of an *Āithashāstra* but state that he lived about the beginning of creation. The whole account runs thus —

प्रजापतिर्हि प्रजाः सृष्ट्वा तासां स्थितिनिबन्धनं त्रिवर्गस्य

साधनमध्यायानां शतसहस्रेणाग्रे प्रोवाच ॥ ५ ॥

तस्यैकदेशिकं मनुः स्यायभुवो धर्माधिकारिकं पृथक्चकार ॥ ६ ॥

बृहस्पतिरर्थान्धिकारिकम् ॥ ७ ॥

Bhasa also refers to a Brihaspatya *Āithashāstra* in his *Pratimā Nāṭaka* —

रावणः—“ काश्यपगोत्रोऽस्मि साङ्गोपाङ्ग वेदमधीये, मानवीय
धर्मशास्त्रं, माहेश्वरं योगशास्त्रं, वार्हस्पत्यमर्थशास्त्रं, मेधातिथेर्न्याय-
शास्त्रं, प्राचेतस श्राद्धकल्पं च ।” प्रतिमा नाटक p, 79

The *Mahābhārata* has the following to say on this point —

नीतिं बृहस्पतिप्रोक्तं भ्रातृन्मेऽग्राहयत्पुरा । वनः ३२।६१॥

So we know that the Brihaspatya *Shāstra* claims a great antiquity in the history of Aryan literature.

III THE ORIGINAL WORK OF BRIHASPATI

The question now arises, as to whether the original work of Brihaspati was composed in verse or *sūtras*

or in the mixed style. No doubt some sūtra literature along with gāthā and other works, was extant even before the time of the compilation of the Brāhmanas because the Shatapatha Brāhmana (सूत्रायनुव्याख्यानानि का० १४ अ० ७ ब्रा० ३ क० ११) alludes to it, but it is not sure whether it had come into vogue at times as early as those of Swāyambhava Manu and Bṛhaspati, the preceptor of India

IV MANAVA DHARMA SHASTRA

Scholars like Max Muller and Buhler held that the Dharmashāstra of Manu was originally a composition in the mixed style of sūtras and shlokas. Buhler tried his best to put forward this theory with such proofs as he could gather. One of his strongest proofs was a passage मानवं सूत्रमुदाहरन्ति which he found in Vācletta Dharmashāstra. Now it is true that the original work of Manu had passed through the hands of several editors, as for example Bṛhgu, Nārada etc, when it reached the compiler of Vās Dh and that a carna of the Kṛishna Yajur Veda namely the Mānava had also come into existence. It is, therefore, quite clear that a school of the Mānavas had come into existence even before the 3rd century B C. The Arthashāstra of Kautilya refers to a certain author of this very school. The views of the Mānavas represented in this Arthashāstra differ widely from the Smṛiti of Manu. It is, therefore, evident that the school consisted of authors who differed greatly. It was this great difference which troubled Buhler very much when he could find no reason as to why the teachings of the Smṛiti differed from the Mānava Gṛihya Sūtra. The whole of sūtra literature of the Mānava school came into existence after the Mānava carna had been established, and hence

we can safely conclude that the original Smṛiti of Manu was purely in verse

As quoted by Bahler on the authority of Nārada, we know that the original work of Manu began with a verse (shloka, as Nārada says) On the other hand all works in sūtra or the mixed style begin almost with a sūtra

Agun Dharmapada (circa 4th century B C) has two verses which are only a Pali version with some change of words of the text of Manu Smṛiti

अभिवादनशीलस्य नित्यवृद्धो- पसेविन । चत्वारि तस्य वर्धन्ता आयुर्विद्या यशोवक्त्रम् ॥२१२२॥	अभिव दनशीलस्स निच्चं वद्धाप- चायिनो । चत्तारो धम्मा उद्धन्ति आयु वरणो सुख बल ॥८६॥
न तेन वृद्धो भवति येनास्य पलित शिर । यो वै युवाप्यधीयान- स्त देवा स्यविर विदु ॥२१५६॥	न तेन थेरो होति येनऽअस्स फलितं सिरा । परिपक्को वयो तस्स मोघजिगणोति बुध्धति ॥१६१॥

Kautiliya Arthashastra also as referred to on pages 101-03 and 190 of his "Lectures on the Ancient History of India" by Shri D R Bhandarkar has two verses of Manu Smṛiti with slight changes only

नास्य छिद्र परो विद्याद्विद्या- च्छिद्र परस्य तु । गूहेत्कूर्म इवाङ्गानि रक्षेद्विवरमात्मन ॥७१६०॥	नास्य गुह्य परे विद्युश्छिद्र विद्यात्परस्य च । गूहेत्कूर्म इवाङ्गानि यत्स्याद्विवृतमात्मन ॥ कौ० पृ० २६
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* Read here the note of Max Muller on page 33 of Vol. X Part I of S.B E

सबस्सरेण पतति पतितेन सहा-
चरन् । याजनाध्यापनद्यौनाश्च तु
यानासनाशनात् ॥११॥१८०*॥

सबस्सरेण पतति पतितेन समा-
चरन् । याजनाध्यापनाद्यौनासैश्चा-
न्योऽपि समाचरन् ॥ कौ०पृ०२१-६†

Here, Professor D R Bhandarkar following the lead of Buhler arrives at the result that 'the verses (above quoted) were not composed by Kautilya but were utilised by him from some work which was in existence long before he wrote or the (metrical) Manu Smṛiti was compiled' This is nothing but a prejudice in order to bring down the date of Manusmṛiti First a theory is started—Manusmṛiti is accepted to belong to a later date,—and then if any work anterior to that date is found containing the verses of Manusmṛiti, (although not mentioning this fact but still indicating that the verses are not his own) it is said that the work in question and the Manusmṛiti both utilised a material of a very old period Both this assumption and conclusion do not seem to be convincing

Last of all we may refer to two verses, to be found in the 18th Saṅga of Valmiki Rāmāyana, where the author of that work explicitly says that the following two shlokas were sung by Manu —

* Vasishtha I 22, Baudhayana II 1 35 and Vishnu

† My friend Pandit Nanak Chandra B A informs me that Maskri and Hardatta on Gautama Dharma Sutra have got the first half of this verse on the name of Kanva They both give समाचरन् in place of सहाचरन्, Hardatta at the same time quotes the full verse from Manu also with the words इति मानवम् There's so the first half of the verse has समाचरन् and the second half has exactly the same words as in the present day Manu.

श्रूयते मनुना गीतो श्लोको चारित्र वत्सलौ ।

गृहीतौ धर्मकुशलैस्तत्तथा चरितं हरे ॥ ३१ ॥

राजभिर्धृतदण्डास्तु कृत्वा पापानि मानवाः ।

निर्मलाः स्वर्गमायान्ति सन्तः सुकृतिनो यथा ॥ ३२ ॥

शासनाद्वा विमोक्षाद्वा स्तेनः स्तेयाद्विमुच्यते ।

राजा त्वशासन्प स्य तदवामोति किल्बिषम् ॥ ३३ ॥

The verse 32nd is Manusmṛiti VIII 38, and verse 33rd is Manu VIII 316

It may, therefore, after this brief discussion be safely concluded that the original Smṛiti of Manu was like the present one composed in verse 1

V THE SMRITI OF BRIHASPATI

Like its original, the Manusmṛiti, the Smṛiti of Brihaspati was also in verse That work is however lost now (if it may not be unearthed by some future researches) The small collection of some shlokas which is generally called the Brihaspati Smṛiti is but a child's play as compared with the Bārhaspatya Shāstra referred to in the Mahābhārata Professor Julius Jolly collected fragments of Brihaspatismṛiti from different law books and and their commentaries, for translating them in the S B E Vol XXXIII But these fragments are also incomplete An exhaustive collection of all the sayings of Brihaspati will not be a fruitless task for some future scholar 2

1 I hope to discuss this subject in detail at some later date

2 After the above lines were written I read in the *Vedic Magazine* that Pandit Jai Deva Vidyānākar of the Gurukul Kangri is busy with this work and will shortly bring out this useful collection

VI KAUTILYA AND BRIHASPATI.

Just as the views attributed to the school of **Manu** by Kautilya and his follower **Kāmardaka** are not to be met with in the present law-book of **Manu**, so also the views ascribed to the school of **Bṛhaspati** by Kautilya are not found in the collected fragments of **Bṛhaspati**. **Bṛhaspati** is referred to on six different occasions by Kautilya. See pages 6, 29, 63, 177, 192, and 375 (*Text, second edition*)

VII THE BṚHASPATYA SUTRAM AND ITS DATE

The present sūtras even if they do, possess but a very remote connection with the **Bṛhaspatya śāstra**. Even pruned of their sectarian matter, they do not appear to belong to any of the adherents of the original school of **Bṛhaspati**. These sūtras may only here and there contain a view of the old **Bṛhaspatya** school. As regards the date of this work, nothing can be said with certainty. The guess of Dr. F. W. Thomas may turn out to be a true one. This much however, is certain that the work is not anterior to the sixth or seventh century A. D.*

* Pandit Jai Deva in the *Vedic Magazine* already referred to says that the work is posterior to Kalidasa, for the reason that in his *Meghaduta* Kalidasa refers to **Kankhal** alone, while **Hardwar** or **Gangadwara** which is a **Śaiva** tirtha of a recent origin is not at all mentioned by him. This **Gangadwara** is mentioned in **Bṛhaspatya** sūtra III. 122. Hence the work is posterior to the recognition of **Hardwar** as a sacred place.

VIII A-BARHASPATYA SAMHITA.

There is another treatise connected with the name of Bṛhaspati. It is the Bāḥaspatya Samhitā. We find it often quoted in the गजलक्षण प्रकरण of लक्षणप्रकाश of वीरमित्रादय. It is in the form of a dialogue between Nahusha and Bṛhaspati. The work is in the mixed style of prose and verse. This Samhitā also, as is apparent from the numerous quotations in the above mentioned work, bears no connection with the present sūtras.

IX WAS BRIHASPATI A CĀRVĀKA ?

No doubt, there was a great atheistic logician Bṛhaspati by name, but was he the writer on polity ? Somadeva Suri (10th century A D) says in his Yashastilaka बृहस्पतिनीतय इव देवमातृका (p 13 Nir-nayasagar 1901) and his commentator Shrutasagar Suri says बृहस्पतिनीतय इव । यथा बृहस्पतिनीतयश्चावर्कशास्त्राणि देव सर्वज्ञादिविशेष न मन्यन्ते । So, according to the commentator the Nītikāra Bṛhaspati was the renowned Cārvāka. However, all the previous quotations go against this view. Bṛhaspati the politician, being connected with Manu and others of the theistic school, was certainly a theist. Somadeva and his commentator confuse the two Bṛhaspatis.

There have been thus three eminent persons at least known by the name Bṛhaspati in the literary history of Bhārata. The first and the most well-known was Bṛhaspati, the writer on polity, secondly Bṛhaspati, the cārvāka logician, and thirdly the person who wrote the samhitā.

X PARALLFL PASSAGES

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| <p>(१) आत्मवान् राजा १।१</p> <p>(२) काखिकाभिधान पाषण्डी २।१३</p> <p>(३) अर्थमर्थेन २।४६</p> <p>(४) गुरुवचनमलङ्कनीयम् २।७३</p> <p>(५) अष्टादशतीर्थानि निरूपयेत्
३।२२</p> <p>(६) ब्रह्मे मुहूर्ते उत्थानम् । धर्म-
मर्थश्च चिन्तयेत् २।४।१।</p> <p>(७) गजोऽगजेनेव ६।६</p> <p>(८) धनमूलं जगत् ६।१०</p> | <p>आत्मवान् नृप । कामन्दकी
नीतिसार २।३६</p> <p>पाषण्डी । नीतिवाक्यामृत पृ० ८२
On this the commentary says
कापालिकादि पाषण्डिनम् ।
अर्थेनार्थोपार्जनम् । नी० वा० अमृत
पृ० ११६</p> <p>गुरुवचनमनुलङ्कनीयम् । नी० वा०
अमृत पृ० ४४</p> <p>“सेनापतिर्गणको राजश्रेष्ठी
दण्डाधिपो मन्त्री महत्तरो बल-
वत्तरश्चत्वारो वर्णाश्च तुरङ्गबल
पुरोहितोऽमात्यो महामाहात्यश्चे-
त्यष्टादश राज्ञां तीर्था भवन्ति ।”
quoted by श्रुतसागरसूरि
on p 91 of यशस्तिलक
Nirnayasagar edition</p> <p>A common saying of the
Dharmashāstras Cf Manu
IV 92</p> <p>गजेन गजबन्धनमिव । नी० वा०
अमृत पृ० ११६</p> <p>“धनमार्जय काकुत्स्थ धन
मूलमिदं जगत्” ।
quoted by Ramchandra
Budhendra on नीतिशतक 31
(Nirnayasagar edition 1917)</p> |
|---|--|

These sūtrās of Brihaspati were originally published in LE MUSEON Troisième Série—Tome 1 No 2, 16 Mars 1916 The text printed there, was in the Roman script To this, Dr F W Thomas had attached his valuable introduction and translation By the kind permission of the publishers—The University Press Cambridge—of that journal, through Professor Balkrishna M A, the editor of the Vedic Magazine, was able to publish this material in his journal for the month of October 1920 The devanāgarī text of the sūtrās printed in the Vedic Magazine was prepared by me During its preparation I was thinking if the text with the introduction and translation of Dr F W Thomas could be preserved in a book form Even Professor Balkrishna desired the same This became soon practicable, when the publishers of the present edition undertook this task

In the end I should thank my friends Pandits Vishva Bandhu Shāstri M A and Nanak Chand B A and my pupil Desh Raj for going through the proof-sheets

DAYANANDA ANGLO VEDIC
COLLEGE, LAHORE,
December, 1920

BHAGAVADDATTA

been favoured with a perusal of proof-sheets I was able to draw attention (J R A S pp 446-71) to the extreme importance of the work. In 1911-12 Professor Jacobi in two very valuable papers (*Kultur-Sprach- und Literaturhistorisches aus dem Kautiliya* and *Über die Echtheit des Kautiliya* in the Berlin Academy *Sitzungsberichte*, 1911, pp 954-973, 1912, pp 832-849) discussed the bearings of the work upon the Indian literary and linguistic history and argued forcibly for its authenticity. We have also to take note of interesting discussions of the work by Prof Jolly, *Lexikalisches aus dem Arthashastra* (*Indogermanische Forschungen*, xxxi, pp 204-10), *Kollektaneen zum Kautiliya Arthashastra* (*Z D M G*, 1914, pp. 345-359), Dr Johannes Hertel, *Literarisches aus dem Kautiliyashastra* (*Vienna Oriental Journal*, xxiv, pp 416-422), and Dr Jarl van Charpentier, *En Indisk handbok i statslära från 300 f kr* (*Nordisktidskrift*, 1913, pp 353-369), Narendia Nath Law, *Studies in Ancient Hindu Polity* (*Based on the Arthashastra of Kautilya*) (vol 1, London, etc, 1914) and a partial commentary compiled by Dr I Sorabji, as a pupil of Prof Jolly, and published at Allahabad in 1914. A revised translation by Pandit Shama Shastri is now passing through the press. The information contained in the *Arthashastra* is still far from exhausted, and the interest in it may be expected continually to increase.

As Prof Jacobi has mentioned, Cānakya frequently quotes his predecessors, both schools and individuals, the style often assuming almost the form of a discussion, and it is clear that in (say) the fifth and fourth

centuries B C the subject of royal policy was a recognized topic. The schools are the Mânavaś, Bâḥaspatyaś, Aushanaśaś, Ambhīyaś (no doubt, of Taxīla) and Parâ-sharaś, and the individuals Bhâradvâja, Viśhâlâksha, Pi-shuna, Kaunpadanta, Vâtavyâdhi and Bâhudantī-putra. It is, therefore, of interest to find that in the account of the science occurring in the Mahâbhârata (cited by Prof Jacobi, 1911, p 973)* some of these names occur. There we are told that the founder of the science was Biahmâ himself, whose work was abridged by Shiva in a treatise entitled *Varishâlâksha*, and then further abridged in succession by Indra, who compiled the *Bâhudantaka*, Brihaspati the *Bâḥaspatya*, and Kavi (Ushanasa), the (Aushanasa) treatise—of which the last-mentioned is named along with those of Manu, Indra, Bhâradvâja, and Gauashiras in another passage of the same book (c 58, 2-3), also in 1 98, 36 and elsewhere in the literature (e g *sâma aushanasa* in the *Jâtakī harana*, x 26).

†एतत्ते राजधर्माणां नवनीतं युधिष्ठिर ।

बृहस्पतिर्हि भगवान्नायं धर्मं प्रशंसति ॥ १ ॥

विशालाक्षश्च भगवान्काव्यश्चैव महातपाः ।

सहस्राक्षो महेन्द्रश्च तथा प्राचेतसो मनुः ॥ २ ॥

भरद्वाजश्च भगवाँस्तथा गौरश्विरा मुनिः ।

राजशास्त्रं प्रणेतारो ब्राह्मणा ब्रह्मवादिनः ॥ ३ ॥ श्रा० प्र० ५७

* Also cited by Dr G Oppert in his *Weapons, Army Organisation And Political Maxims of the Ancient Hindus*, 1880, p 35 B Datta.

† I have introduced here the original shlokas for the benefit of the reader B Datta.

तानुवाच सुरान्तर्वान्स्वयंभूर्भगवँस्ततः ।

श्रेयोऽहं चिन्तयिष्यामि व्यतुवोभीः सुरोत्तमाः ॥ २८ ॥

ततोऽध्यायसहस्राणां शतं चक्रे स्वबुद्धिजम् ।

यत्र धर्मस्तथैवार्थः कामश्चैवानुवर्णितः ॥ २९ ॥

संचित्तेषु ततः शास्त्रं महास्त्रं ब्रह्मणा कृतम् ॥ ३० ॥

वैशालाक्षमिति प्रोक्तं तदिन्द्रः प्रत्यपद्यत ।

दशाध्यायसहस्राणि सुब्रह्मण्यो महातपाः ॥ ३१ ॥

मघवानपि तच्छास्त्रं देवात्प्राप्य महेश्वरात् ।

प्रजानां हितमन्विच्छन्संचित्तेषु पुरंदरः ॥ ३२ ॥

सहस्रैः पञ्चभिस्तात यदुक्तं बाहुदन्तकम् ।

अध्यायानां सहस्रैस्तु त्रिभिरेव बृहस्पतिः ।

संचित्तेष्वेश्वरो बुद्ध्या बार्हस्पत्यं यदुच्यते ॥ ३३ ॥

अध्यायानां सहस्रेण काव्यः संक्षेपमब्रवीत् ।

तच्छास्त्रमितप्रज्ञो योगाचार्यो महायशाः ॥ ३४ ॥ शा० अ० ५८

To complete this brief sketch we should mention the *Shukra smṛiti*, no very early work, which has several times (by Oppert at Madras in 1882, by Jīvananda Vidyāsāgara at Calcutta, 1892 etc etc) been edited in India and is now accessible in translation (by Prof Benoy Kumar Suku in *Sacred Books of the Hindus* Allahabad, 1914)

The *Agni-purāṇa* has also a section devoted to the subject, which is, further, fully represented in the *Mānava Dharmaśāstra*, as well as in the *Mahabharata*. We need not mention the later and minor treatises in Sanskrit literature.

The *Niti* literature of Buima is of a different character. In the Tibetan, however, where we find also quasi-independent works on government, there are translations of Sanskrit texts in verse ascribed (1) to Masuraksha and (2) to Nāgārjuna. The Javanese has, besides a professed translation of the *Kāmandaki Nitisāra*, also some minor tracts, perhaps representing the late moral anthology which bears the name of Cānakya.

If the short text which is here edited were representative of the ancient *Bāhaspatya* doctrine, it would have a considerable interest. Unfortunately, this is far from being the case. It professes, indeed, like the *Bāhaspatya Smṛiti*, to be dictated to India by his Purohita. But what follows is a brief and strangely disjointed exposition of the subject. Its date, as it stands, seems from an apparent mention of the Yādvas of Devagiri to be brought down at least to the twelfth century A.D. It refers, in passages which, however, may be suspected of interpolation (see notes to II 8-35, III 8-16, 33-7, 119-33), to the sects of the Śhaivas, Vaiṣṇavas, and Śhāktas and names their sacred domains (*kshetras*), some of which may not be ancient. It does not seem to contain the matter indicated by the citations in the *Arthashastra* of Kautilya (pp. 6, 29, 63, 177, 192 of the edition). It displays some grammatical peculiarities, e.g. neuters for masculines (which may sometimes be explained as accusatives obscured by the elliptical *sūtra* style and *vice versa*), accusative after *vi-shvas* (which, however, occurs elsewhere), and even the forms *samgrahet* (which should perhaps be *samgrahayet*, as the correct *samgrahītyāt* occurs several times) and *diryat*

(old subjunctive of *div*, see Lexx) Finally, it presents some confusions (e g I 36, II 34, V 17), probably due to the mss, and one strange word *kusumānta*, which, though it can hardly be for Musalmān, might conceivably be a roundabout expression for Pallava (or *pallava=vita*)

It is not, however, the case that nothing can be said on the other side. Apart from the suspected interpolations, the tone and style, and even the disjointed and miscellaneous character of the work, produce a sense of antiquity. It is hard to conceive of such a treatise being deliberately compiled by persons acquainted with the *Nitisāra* of Kāṃpandakī and the *Shukraniti*. Some of the expressions, e g *atibhedayet* (I 52), *alamkārayet* (iv, 10), are in the old *Arthashāstra* style, as are the proverbial expressions (e g I 29, 100, II 11, v 13, iv 12). The name *Tishya*, as applied to the fourth, or Kali, age, recurs in the *Mahābhārata* and *Harivamsha*. A connection with the Bāṇhaspatyas may be seen in the restriction of the royal sciences to one, namely *dandaniti* (*Arthashāstra*, p 6), although they add *rāṇitā* (which again is represented in our text by *kṛishṇoṇakṣhabāṇṇyānī*, II 4, cf *Arthashāstra*, p 8, *kṛishṇapāshupālye bāṇṇyā ca vārṇitā*). The importance attached to the Lokāyta and Bauddha doctrines also points to the same direction. The term *Kāpālīka*, as applied to adherents of the *Kāmarshāstra*, requires explanation, but some Shaiva sects e.g. the Pāshupatas encourage erotic ideas.

Upon the whole we should perhaps not be mistaken in maintaining that the text *does*, though rather remotely, derive from the ancient *Bārhaspatya* system. We might compare it with such treatises as the existent *Vedāngas*,

or with the *Atharvaveda Parishishtas*, which contain undoubtedly ancient matter along with strange lexicographical and grammatical features (e.g. *homayet* and even *namaskayet*, see the edition by Negelein and Bolling, Leipzig 1909-10, index) They belong to the backwaters of priestly studies preserved in Southern India, when the general interest was transferred to such subjects as Nyâya, Vedânta, law, and grammar

A Ms of the work seems to be recorded as in private possession in South India (see Oppert's 'List,' vol 1 No 4642) * This ms has not been procurable, but by the kindness of Prof Raṅgacharya, late Curator of the Government Oriental MSS Library in Madras, I have been favoured with a Devanâgarî copy of another ms, which is under his charge Upon this (M) I have based the text, recording the slight variants of the Royal Asiatic Society's Whish ms (W—noted in Winternitz's catalogue under No 160 (3), p 219) Both originals are in Grantha character, and they derive not remotely from a common source¹ The punctuation follows almost invariably the Madras copy the numbering of the *Sûtras* has been added

As the treatise is definitely a *Sûtra*, a commentary must have been designed Does a copy exist, perhaps under Oppert's No 6061 *Bârhaspatya-sûtra-ttkâ* (no longer traceable) ? It might contain something

* There is another ms of the work with Shri Pandit T Ganapati Shastri of Travancore He writes to me in his letter dated 22nd Dec 1920 thus—'As desired in your letter, I shall arrange on receipt of your printed forms of *Bârhaspatya* to note down the variants.' These I have not yet received. B. Datta.

¹ Whether this common source was the actual Madras ms.

interesting, more especially as it is not quite clear that the text in its six *adhyāyas* is complete²

I hope shortly to be in possession of a *Niti-sūtra* ascribed to Cānakya. *

or not, I am unable to demonstrate That it was in the Grantha character is proved by the confusions between *e* and *h* (v 15), *au* and *n* (read as *n* III 118, IV 38, v 22), *m* and *h* (15, II 8, 18, III 76, 81, 92, v 11), *k* and *t* (I 54 76 III 81, 92, 131, v 13), *h* and *tt* (III 122), *g* and *bh* (III 67), *e* and *v* (III 26-7), *c* and *p* (II 39), *nc* and *sc* (II 73, III 23, 87, 102), *j* and *bh* (II 33), *ndr* and *ndr* (III 41), *nd* and *ndh* (II 43), *t* and *m* (v 26), *n* and *r* (I 7), *nu* and *nū* (I 54), *p* and *v* (v 27), *bi* and *h* (II 9) *vra* and *vr* (v 26).

² We may here enumerate the chief grammatical peculiarities above referred to Some of them may be due to the elliptical *Sūtra* style, while some may be due to the plurals in *an* from nouns in *a* may be conjectured to be mis errors, final *n* (Grantha, etc.) having been read as *ni* Also double gender in such nouns is common

(a) neuter for masc

abhiprayam (v 9), *artham* ? (VI 9), *śāstram* (III 57), *upayam* (IV 43), *kulīham* (IV 36), *kṛm* ? (II 47), *devīryam* (III 56), *dharma* ? (II 46), *pratikram* (IV 50), *mantram* (III 8, elsewhere masc different sense ?), *moham* ? (II 48); *lobham* (I 22) *vidham* (II 49), *śabdām* (IV 33, known elsewhere), *svaram* (IV 17), *vishayā* (III 113 ?)

(b) compounds with *adī* in various genders, having no obvious concord I 12, 57, 64, 65, 106, II 16, 19, III 15

(c) masc for neuter

atīndhā (III 139), *śhetā* (III. 119-122, also neut), *phalā* (III 73), see also III 9

(d) *arj*-for *arj* II 7, 9, 13

(e) *suparīhṛtya* (v 15) and *dnyat* (III 46, 47) are archaic. As regards Sandhi, I have usually normalized, sometimes leaving *h* in pause, where it is legitimate

* This has now been printed as an appendix to the second edition of Kautilya Arthashastra by Pt Shama Shastri.

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शतपथ ब्राह्मणम्

(यजुर्वेदीय काण्व शाखीय)

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अथ बार्हस्पत्यसूत्रम् ।

[प्रथमोऽध्यायः ।]

बृहस्पतिरथाचार्य इन्द्राय नीतिसर्वस्वमुपदिशति ।

आत्मवान् राजा ॥१॥

आत्मवन्तं मन्त्रिणमापादयेत् ॥२॥

दण्डनीतिरेव विद्या ॥३॥

धर्ममपि लोकविकृष्टं न कुर्यात् ॥४॥

करोति चेदाशास्येनं बुद्धिमद्भिः ॥५॥

समानैः सेव्यः ॥६॥

स्त्रीबालवृद्धैः सह न वदेद्धर्मनीतिकृत्यानि ॥७॥

ऐन्द्रजालिकं न कुर्यात् ॥८॥

मन्त्रवादोत्सवौ च ॥९॥

आमयविषध्वंसनानि च ॥१०॥

न भस्मधारणम् ॥११॥

f W अशस्येनः । 2 W र । 3. W ०जालिकं । 4 M erases 11 and inserts it after 12.

नाग्निहोत्रवेदपाठादीनि च ॥१२॥

न तीर्थयात्रा^५ ॥१३॥

न राजसेवा च ॥१४॥

न स्त्रीसेवा च ॥१५॥

न म[१.ख]द्यं पिबेत् ॥१६॥

आत्मणं न हन्यात् ॥१७॥

नेयं न कुर्यात् ॥१८॥

हु न च स्रगनुलेपौ^६ ॥१९॥

विषीदेत् ॥२०॥

न चातिकुप्येत् ॥२१॥

अविषये लोभमदानसंज्ञम^७ ॥२२॥

केदारे बीजानि आपयेत् ॥२३॥

दानं कर्त्तव्यम् ॥२४॥

तदसहिष्णुता लोभः ॥२५॥

स्तेयं लोभश्च ॥२६॥

स्वद्रव्यव्ययहेतुः कामः ॥२७॥

गुरुदेवमाङ्गनृपादिर्हिसाबुद्धिः क्रोधः ॥२८॥

स्वशिरस्ताडनं च ॥२९॥

5. W ०ञां । 6 W ०लेवा । 7 Sic; perhaps a verb (बर्जयेत्) is understood.

बलादिषु च समं शत्रुं युद्धेन हन्यात् ॥३०॥

अन्याभियोगी सामानभेदमाद्योपेक्षादिभिः ॥३१॥

मन्त्रेऽनं न कुर्यात् ॥३२॥

मृगयातिसङ्गं च नाचरेत् ॥३३॥

स्त्रीष्वतिसङ्गादयशो व[२क]र्धते ॥३४॥

आयुश्च क्षीयते ॥३५॥

द्यूतपरतापपरापवादपातकिसमागमे समन्त्रादानि परच्छिद्रा-

णि विद्याव्यसनपरिहास्येन ॥३६॥

औशधोपयोगविश्वभूत्रविसर्जनकस्नानदन्तधावनमैथुनोपभोग-

दैवतपूजापि रहस्येन ॥३७॥

तथा धर्मध्वजिनं न विश्वसेत् ॥३८॥

निन्देन्न च ॥३९॥

उन्मत्तजडादीन् दृष्ट्वा न हसेच्च ॥४०॥

तुल्यशीलवयोभिः क्रीडितव्यं रहस्य ॥४१॥

गजाश्वक्रीडं व्यक्ते न द्विमूर्तम् ॥४२॥

दूषयेन्न च स्वजातिजीवत्सु ॥४३॥

8 Sic M, W [०योगा]. Read ०योधिः ? 9 W समानभेदः । 10 W मन्त्रे । 11 W अगतेमस- the reading and sense are doubtful. 12. W परिः । 13. W औशधोपयोगः । 14. W स्नान । 15 For accusative after वि-न् स see Lexica and comp. V, 19 infra . 16. W अजादीन् । 17 M includes रहस्ये in the next sūtra. 18. W अश्वक्रीडे । 19. M ओः ।

अर्थेनानुरागेणाभिजन्मनौदार्येण पूर्वैर्भ[२स्व]विष्यैरधिकत्व
इच्छा कर्त्तव्या ॥४४॥ ---

पूर्वाचरितं धर्ममनुजीविसख्यममात्यज्ञातिमुद्बुद्धान्धवान् समं
पश्येत् ॥४५॥

बहिरन्तर्दण्डदानाधनुजीविषु ॥४६॥

सामभेददानानि मन्त्रिषु ॥४७॥

सामभेददानार्थमायपिण्डानि ज्ञातिषु ॥४८॥

अप्रियमपि वचनं शृणुयात् ॥४९॥

दुर्दिनप्रहवैषम्यत्रिजन्मनक्षत्रे गुरुकार्यप्राप्तौ न च मङ्गलानि
सेवेत् ॥५०॥

एकदेशैकरूपिणीमभिजातां स्त्रियं गमयेत् ॥५१॥

अतिभेदयेन्नातिसामं नातिदानं न च स्त्रीषु दण्डो न च
मायोपेक्षा कर्त्तव्या ॥५२॥

तासु न बहु वदेत् ॥५३॥

ग्रामया[३क]चकस्तुतमागधवन्दिनटनर्तक्युपाध्यायासत्यवाद-
बटुविटवणिजगोपालवेश्याकुनृपेष्वनृताडम्बरं वक्तव्यः ॥५४॥

संन्यासं नृपवेश्यामन्त्रवादोपजीविष चिरं न सेवेत् ॥५५॥

20. अर्थेनाना० । 21. M W अकार्ये प्र० । 22. W अयम्, M अशयः । 23. M आमयो० । 24. M W insert न । 25. Read. सूत for स्तुत । W अनर्तक्यु० । 26. M अजतु०, W अजतु० । 27. W अवेद्यः । 28. M अनु० । 29. M संन्यास ।

आत्मप्रभुं सेवेत ॥५६॥

आयत्यादीनति न ॥५७॥

स्त्रीद्यूतपानसक्ताश्च सेवयेत् ॥५८॥

पञ्च नाडिका इष्टदेवताजपादि पञ्चनाडिकायामतीत्रायासास्था-
नम् ॥५९॥

दश नाडिका विधिः पञ्च नाडिकाः स्नानम् ॥६०॥

त्रिनाडिका भोजनम् ॥६१॥

पञ्चनाडिका हास्यक्रीडा स्निग्धैः ॥६२॥

द्विनाडिका सन्ध्या ॥६३॥

सप्त नाडिका नृत्तादयः ॥६४॥

सप्त नाडिका मैथुन[स्व]भोजनादयः ॥६५॥

सप्त नाडिका सृष्टिः ॥६६॥

स्वनियमं कुर्यादप्रमादेन ॥६७॥

अश्वनियामक इव ॥६८॥

शिरःकम्पनास्थानेन स्वागतेन शिष्टताम्बूलदानेन ब्राह्मणो-
त्तमान् ॥६९॥

दुर्ब्राह्मणं शिरःकम्पेन न सोपाचनमपि ॥७०॥

30, M here inserts नाडिकां । 31 W सम्पद्य ३१. Sio
(not वि०) । 33. W कुत्रा० । 34. W ०स्पन, M ०स्पनेन, with
सोपाचनमपि in the next sūtra ।

समानप्रभुं^{३५} विश्वेश्वरं वा स्वागतेनासनेन शिरःकम्पेन ताम्बूल-

दानेन हास्यकथया च ॥७१॥

स्मितेन स्वागतेना^{३६}स्या^{३७}स्त्रिंशिकान् ॥७२॥

ईक्ष्णस्मितेन स्वागतेन शूद्राञ्च^{३८} ॥७३॥

अभीष्टद्रव्यदानेन बालवृद्धादीन्^{३९} ॥७४॥

अन्त्यपाषण्डादीन्^{४०} बाह्मात्रेणापि न^{४१} ॥७५॥

कार्यगुरु^{४२}[४क]तयाऽनुगच्छेन्^{४३} ॥७६॥

अल्पं वदेच्च योगं दद्यात्^{४४} ॥७७॥

वर्णिकापरिग्रहं न कुर्याद्रहस्ये^{४५} ॥७८॥

कर्मकारान्प्रति योगीनपि कार्यमविचारयेत्^{४६} ॥७९॥

स्निग्धैः सह समानं वर्येभ्यस्त्रित्वे^{४७} ॥८०॥

अन्त्यजं त्वनन्त्यजातिनम्^{४८} ॥८१॥

अन्त्यजानां स्वार्थानिधेदकत्वमाज्ञाकर्त्तव्यं च ॥८२॥

तस्मातिलालयेत् ॥८३॥

न विश्वसेच्च ॥८४॥

सर्वं ज्ञात्वा न कुर्यात् ॥८५॥

35 W विष्टेः । 36 Text corrupt, reading doubtful.
37. M नम् । 38. W षड्विंशदीन् । 39-39. M includes in the next *sūtra*. 40 W कार्यः । 41 M षड्या । 42 W त्स्वहृत् ।
43. M W includes रहस्ये in the next *sūtra* 44. Sic (for शोमिन अपि ?) । 45. W सह । 46. W अत्यः । 47. अनाम् ।

धर्मगुप्तिः गृहयात्रागुप्तिः^{४८} कार्यगुप्तिः वेरगुप्तिः यशोभङ्गे सत्यमपि
नेति वदेत् ॥८६॥

चिकित्सकज्योतिः^{४९} [४ख] षमन्त्रवादिनः संग्रहेत्^{५०} दृक्शीलसम्प-
कान् । ८७॥

सत्यमपि दुःस्वानर्थसाधनमपि न वदेत् ॥८८॥

पञ्चविंशतिवर्षं यावत् क्रीडाविद्यां व्यसनात् कुर्यात् । ८९॥

अत उत्तरमर्थजनम् ॥९०॥

आत्मनमनृणी कुर्यात्^{५१} ॥९१॥

भृगुवाजायते^{५२} त्रिभिः कामक्रोधलोभैः^{५३} ॥९२॥

शरीरं सर्वदा रक्षेच्च ॥९३॥

नित्यकर्म न त्यजेत् ॥९४॥

जनघोषे सति क्षुद्रकर्म न कुर्यात्^{५४} ॥९५॥

नेष्टे न स्थातव्यम् ॥९६॥

दूरपरिहरणीयं गुरुतरमपि तद्राज्यकार्यम्^{५५} । ९७॥

कुसुमान्तान् दण्डनायकाभवाच्च सेवेत ॥९८॥

[५क] अल्पदानिः सोढव्या ॥९९॥

48. W व्यात्रा० । 49. W चिकित्सज्यो० । 50. Sic (for संशुद्धीयात्) । 51. Sic (omit अति ?) 52. W आत्मनमनृणम् । 53. M यो वा जा० । 54. M W च.मे । 55. W omits च । 56. W राज्या० ।

मर्ध्ना^{५५} मातङ्गचोरव्यालसर्पव्याघ्रकुलं^{५६} विपिते^{५७} श्मशाने^{५८} वसति

तस्मात्परमनागसां ज्ञातिवैरं न कर्तव्यम् ॥१००॥

एकामिष^{५९}श्चानवत्^{६०} राज्योपप्लुवे^{६१} तद्राज्यक्षेत्रम् ॥१०१॥

नीतिः किल नदीतीरतरुवत् ॥१०२॥

तन्नेहितव्यम् ॥१०३॥

भूतद्रोहिणः कुसुमान्तादयः ॥१०४॥

यशोवीर्यायुःश्रीरतिकसामन्तसेवा^{६२} ॥१०५॥

कामक्रोधमदमात्सर्यपैशुन्यादीन् कार्येव ॥१०६॥

अरिः^{६३} शुभशीलो^{६४} मित्रम् ॥१०७॥

सुहृत्सु शुभशीलः^{६५} शत्रुः ॥१०८॥

चन्द्रादित्ययोरेकरुचित्वाञ्च^{६६} [५ख] कृष्टुत्वम् ॥१०९॥

यादि चेन्न स्थितिस्तयोः ॥११०॥

ज्ञातिषु यत्र वैरं तत्कुलद्वयमामूलं नश्यति^{६७} ॥१११॥

यः क्षात्रं दण्डनीतिं परित्यजत्यनर्थकः शलभा इव वह्निं

प्रविशत्यज्ञानात्, इत्याह भगवानाचार्यः सुरेन्द्रगुरुः ॥११२॥

इति बार्हस्पत्यसूत्रे प्रथमोऽध्यायः ॥

57 W मातङ्गचोरव्यालसर्पव्याघ्रकुलं । 58 MW ०कुले । 59 W
भमशानभूमौ । 60 Str (see note to trans.) 61. M राज्यं च ।
62. M श्रीरतिकसामन्तं, W श्रीरति कुसमान्तं. Read श्रियोहरति
कुसुमान्तं. 63. M W अरिः 64 MW शुभं शीलं । 65 ०शीलं ।
66 M omits द्वय ।

[द्वितीयोऽध्यायः ।]

गुणवतो राज्यम् ॥१॥

विद्यागुणोऽर्थगुणः सहायगुणाश्च ॥२॥

स्वकुलरञ्जन च चारित्ररक्षणम् ॥३॥

कृषिगोरक्षबाणिज्यानि ॥४॥

सर्वथा लौकायतिकमेव शास्त्रमर्थसाधनकाले ॥५॥

कापालिकमेव कामसाधने ॥६॥

आर्हतं धर्मे ॥७॥

[६क] लौकायतिकमसेनार्थं^१ क्षिप्रं नश्यति तत् ॥८॥

कापालिकार्हतबौद्धाश्च ॥९॥

एतेषु तिष्ठन् शलभवह्निवत् ॥१०॥

फलानि श्रोत्रसलिलकल्पानि ॥११॥

अविद्यायुक्तः पुरुषार्थं साधयितुं धर्मयुक्ते यदिच्छति तदा

लौकायतिकाभिधानपाषण्डी ॥१२॥

यदा चण्डाल उदारसुरामांसादिकामेच्छुस्तदा कापालिका-

भिधानपाषण्डी ॥१३॥

1. W सा० । 2 M Sic; W ०मसेनार्थः correct reading doubtful (असेनार्थः ?) 13 W कापालिक० । 4. W बद्ध. Read यदे ? 5. W ०आभिधान० ।

यदा सन्ध्योपासनाद्यग्निहोत्रादि परिस्रज्याहिसाधर्मच्छुः तदा

क्षपणकपा[६ख]षण्डी ॥१४॥

यदा वेदोक्तकर्म ज्ञानं च सर्वेश्वरं शिवं विष्णुं श्रियमपि परिस्र-
ज्य सर्वं शून्यमिति वदति तदा बौद्धाभिधानपाषण्डी ॥१५॥

वृथा धर्मं वदत्यर्थसाधनं लौकायनिकः पिण्डादयश्चोर इति
च ॥१६॥

सर्वमर्थार्थं करोत्यग्निहोत्रसन्ध्याजपादीन् ॥१७॥

स्वदोषं गृहितुं कामात्तं वेदं पठति ॥१८॥

अग्निहोत्रादीन् करोति ॥१९॥

सुरापानार्थमाहिलामेहनार्थं करोति ॥२०॥

विष्णवालयः सुरापानिन इति क्वाणालिकाः ॥२१॥

धर्मा[७क]र्थं मलपिण्डधारणाद्धर्मं वदति क्षपणकः ॥२२॥

शिवादय इति वदति क्षपणकः ॥२३॥

परापवादार्थं वेदशास्त्रधर्मादीन् पठति ॥२४॥

सर्वाभिन्दति ॥२५॥

महेश्वरविष्णवादीनपि ॥२६॥

सोऽप्यशनार्थं धर्मं वदति ॥२७॥

6 M W ०सनाद् । 7 W शिवा, M W वदन्ति । 8 M W
Sic (read चौर्यम् ?) 9 M Sic (read ०र्तं ० or र्यं ?) 10 M W
०मेनार्थम् । 11. M सुरास्त्रि । 12. W omits वेद । 13 W ०र्थ ।

वदनार्थं परान् स्तौति स बौद्धः ॥२८॥

लौकायतिको मृतो भवत्यर्थकामधर्ममोक्षविहीनो नारकी च ॥२९॥

कुले च तत्कुलं^{१४} तत्पुत्रपौत्रान्तरे विनश्यति ॥३०॥

कापाली स्वग्रामगृहस्थजनेः परित्यक्तः सर्वलोकनिन्दितो

नारकी भवति ॥३१॥

तस्मिन्काल ए[७ख]व कुलं विनश्यति ॥३२॥

क्षपणकः^{१५} स्वकुलग्रामवासिभिर्निन्दितो भवति^{१६} त्रिकुलं^{१७}

विनश्यति ॥३३॥

बौद्धसचितं^{१८} कुलं पुत्रपौत्रकाले वा विनश्यति सुदुष्टो

नारकी ॥३४॥

एवंपाषण्डिसंपर्कं^{१९} मनसाऽपि न कुर्यात् ॥३५॥

सुव्यवस्थितमन्त्रेण^{२०} परच्छिद्रज्ञानिना^{२१} धार्मिकेण राज्यं परि-

पालयितुं न शक्यते ॥३६॥

ऐश्वर्यमदमत्तेन सलोभमानिना सचितं^{२२} विनश्यति ॥३७॥

कार्यं निश्चित्य विषयाननुभवति यः स उत्तममर्थं साध-
यति ॥३८॥

चेष्टया कार्यं^{२३} [८ क] ज्ञान्यर्थपरं इति धर्मवानिति लोकैर्यथा न
ज्ञायते तथा कर्त्तव्यम् ॥३९॥

14 M W त । 15 W स्वगृहग्राम । 16 W जीवति ।
17 W सत्तिकुलम् । 18 M W बौद्धः । 19 W संपर्कः । 20 W
सुव्यवस्थितः । 21 M ज्ञानिना । 22 W लोभः । 23 W चर ।

ईश्वर इव चन्द्रादित्याविव ॥४०॥

स्वामिचित्तानुवृत्तिभिर्मत्यैक्यकारकमैव मन्त्रम् ॥४१॥

मन्त्रिणा स्वामिनोऽभिमतमुत्सृज्य कार्यं वक्तव्यम् ॥४२॥

नीतेः फलं धर्मार्थकामावाप्तिः ॥४३॥

धर्मेण कामार्थो परीक्ष्यौ ॥४४॥

धर्मं धर्मेण ॥४५॥

अर्थमर्थेन ॥४६॥

कामं कामेन ॥४७॥

मोक्षं मोक्षेण ॥४८॥

गुरुशासनं कार्यमेव विरु[द्ध]धर्मेणापि पाण्डवविवाह
इव, अर्जुनस्य संन्यास इव, व्यासविधवागमनमिव, कर्णो-
त्पादनमिव, राममातृवधमिवेत्यादि ॥४९॥

नीतिवियुक्तः पुत्र इव शत्रुः ॥५०॥

बालं दुष्टं साहसिकमज्ञातशास्त्रमन्त्रे प्रवेशयेत् ॥५१॥

मृदा दुराचारास्तीक्ष्णा आत्मबुद्धयः क्षिप्रक्रुद्धा बाला
मन्त्रयोग्या न ॥५२॥

24 M अ इव । 25 W मत्येक०, M ०मि मत्येक्य० ।

26 W कण्डमार्थ० । 27 W ०माभिति । 28 Sc. परीक्षयेत्
and so with the accusatives in *sūtras* 46-8, 29. Text
corrupt, W ०शास्त्रमन्त्रेण. Read ०शास्त्रं मन्त्रे न ?

सर्वरत्नान्यपि दीयन्तां स्वकार्यजीवयशोरक्षणे ॥५३॥

मन्त्रकाले न कोपयेत् ॥५४॥

धर्मप्रधानं पुरुषा^{३०}[ऽक]र्था न ॥५५॥

अधर्मेण भुज्यमानं सुखमसुहृत् ॥५६॥

स्थितिर्वर्धनम्^{३१} ॥५७॥

अपथ्यभोजनो मृत्युप्रीतिकर इव सत्यव्रतः शास्त्रेषु निष्ठितः

पुरुषः सागरमपि शोषयेत् ॥५८॥

क्रुद्धो यदि हतपौरुषास्त्रस्ता भवन्ति ॥५९॥

एक एव बहून् दुर्जनो^{३२} नाशयति ॥६०॥

पौरुषे निष्ठितो देवो ॥६१॥

यस्य^{३३} स्वदाररतिः यस्यात्मदमने शक्तिस्तेन सदृशो न ॥६२॥

सज्जनो न भयाद् व्यतिवर्तते^{३४} ॥६३॥

तस्मिन्काले हितमवक्तव्यमवाक्यज्ञैः सुहृद्भिः ॥६४॥

उत्सिक्तहृदयं धर्मे चलि[ऽस्व]तगौरवमजितात्मानं आसितुं
नोत्सहेत् ॥६५॥

दारुणकर्मभिः श्रान्तमज्ञाननिद्रया सुप्तं धर्मवाक्यानिर्लैः शीतै-
र्बालिशं प्रबोधयेत् ॥६६॥

30 M W पुरुषार्थान् । 31 M W स्थिति । 32 W दुर्जनाच्चा० । 33 M निष्ठिते देवो यस्य, W देवो यस्य No interpunction in either case. 34 W लम्बे । 35 M शास्त्रम् ।

दुर्जनमध्ये सूर्ययत् प्रकाशते मुजनः^{३६} ॥६७॥

अधर्मव्यवास्थितान्^{३७}न्यायवृत्तेन वारयेत् ॥६८॥

अधर्मं नार्जयेत् ॥६९॥

अकीर्तिं नार्जयेत् ॥७०॥

न मारयेत् ॥७१॥

बोला निवार्यतां^{३८} धर्मपाठाङ्कुशेन गज इव ॥७२॥

गुरुवचनमलङ्घनीयं नयानुगतं^{३९} चेत् ॥७३॥

गुरुमपि नीतिवियुक्तं निरासयेत् ॥७४॥

गुरुराहेति ॥७५॥

इति बार्हस्पत्यसूत्रे द्विती[१०क]योऽध्याय ॥

36 W सुधर्म । 37 M ०स्थिता । 38 M ०तामधर्म् ।
39 W गतञ्चे ।

[तृतीयोऽध्यायः ।]

जितक्लेशस्य पौरुषम् ॥१॥

देशान्तरवासेन जितक्लेशो भवति ॥२॥

सर्वबलकालदेशसामप्रकृतिसहायामवयसां ज्ञानं कार्यम् ॥३॥

उपवासादिसहिष्णुत्व च ॥४॥

सुगन्धवासान् कोशान् कुर्यात् ॥५॥

बहुवादं मधुरमेव कुर्यात् ॥६॥

समबुद्धीन् मणीन् सर्वान् सदाराधयेत् ॥७॥

नवानि मन्त्राणि विद्यात् ॥८॥

त्रिविधानि शाक्ता वैष्णवा^२ शैवानि तव[१०ख]प्रभिन्नानि^३ ॥९॥

मोक्षपुर्या^४ द्वारं त्रयम् ॥१०॥

शाक्ता वैष्णवाः शैवाः ॥११॥

पोतयानमार्गवच्छाक्तम्^५ ॥१२॥

महापथवद्वैष्णवम् ॥१३॥

केवलप्रधानिकमश्वरथयानवत् ॥१४॥

1 W ०द्धि , W read समबुद्धीन् । 2 Sic M W 3 W here inserts च । 4 M ०पूर्वाद् । 5 W om शाक्तं and sūtras
13-15

लौकायतिकक्षपणकबौद्धादि बहुशरदलदुष्टमृगाकीर्णशून्या-
टवीगुहामार्गवत् ॥१५॥

एतन् निरूप्येकमाश्रयेत् ॥१६॥

ज्योतिर्नाथस्थितं सदा निरूपयेत् ॥१७॥

चातुर्वर्ग्यं रत्नेषु ॥१८॥

ग्रीषधानि सेवेत च ॥१९॥

बलवर्णतेजोमदबुद्धिशौर्यदयार्धनानि दोषधातुश्मानि ॥२०॥

दानमानालङ्कारविद्याभिः सिद्धिं लभेत् ॥२१॥

अष्टादश तीर्थानि निरूपयेत् ॥२२॥

षट् प्रकृतयस्तीर्थं शत्रुमित्रोदासीना[११क]श्च ॥२३॥

अन्तः शत्रुरन्तर्मित्रोऽन्तरुदासीन इति तेऽप्यनुजीविसखि-
मुद्ददश्च ॥२४॥

भार्यापुत्रबान्धवाश्च ॥२५॥

अन्येऽपि देवालयनृत्तयागभूमिसन्ध्यावापीचतुष्पथपाषाण-

हालयापणवालविद्यापाठदेशखलूरीशालीचन्द्रदर्शनाद्युत्सववे-

द्यामृहसमुद्रतीरयतिसंनिधिराज्यसन्धिसुराविक्रयस्थानपा-

न्यनिवासाश्च ॥२६, २७॥

6. W ० आश्रयेत् । 7. M W ० समानि । 8. W ० यस्ते तीर्था
19. M ० मित्रोदासीना च । 10. W तद्वत् । 11. W here inserts
च । 12. W ० अष्टादश । 13. W पादेश । 14. W omits लू ।
15. M W ० अष्ट । 16. W च । 17. W पन्था ।

भृङ्गारवेणं कुर्यात् ॥२८॥

पुच्छारे सर्वनिरोधनं कार्यम् ॥२९॥

सर्वान्न निशेध[११ख]येच्च ॥३०॥

इतिहासपुराणानि मानयेत् ॥३१॥

तत् पाकांश्च ॥३२॥

आकागमांश्च ॥३३॥

^{१९}वैखानसागमांश्च ॥३४॥

सांख्यांश्च ॥३५॥

शैवांश्च ॥३६॥

सर्वानपि स्वाध्यायं कुर्यात् कारयेच्च ॥३७॥

ब्राह्मणं न हन्यादोषदुष्टमपि ॥३८॥

निर्दयस्य दया कर्तव्या ॥३९॥

ग्रामणीन् सम्भावयेत् ॥४०॥

नगरेन्द्रांश्च ^{१९} ॥४१॥

दुर्बलमपि साम कुर्यात् ^{२२} ॥४२॥

दानेन बहु ॥४३॥

न स्वल्पञ्च ॥४४॥

नोत्तमेषु गुणबाहुल्यक्रमेण ॥४५॥

18 W सर्वन् । 19 W omits न । 20. W भूयः ।
21 W वृत् । (for म्नां) । 22 W अपि स कु ।

अक्षैर्दीव्यात्^{२३} ॥४६॥

नैव दीव्याच्च^{२४} ॥४७॥

सर्पादीन् हन्यात् ॥४८॥

उत्तमाभानामन्त्रसिद्धान्[१२क]विद्याबहुलान् द्विजान् मान-
येत् ॥४९॥

अन्यराष्ट्रजान् द्विजान् क्षत्रवन्धून् कुमारसामन्तादीनात्मवत्
सम्भावयेद्गो^{२५}जनाच्छादनादिभिः ॥५०॥

शरणागतं सर्वपातकयुक्तमपि रक्षेत्^{२६} ॥५१॥

दुष्टनिग्रहं कुर्यात् ॥५२॥

शिष्टपरिपालनञ्च ॥५३॥

ग्रामं न बाधेत् ॥५४॥

नगरञ्च ॥५५॥

देवालयानि च ॥५६॥

आसवानि^{२७} सेवयेत् ॥५७॥

अति न ॥५८॥

मांसानि च ॥५९॥

घृणा कार्या ॥६०॥

23 W द्वि० । 24 Sic M W. 25 W नमन्त्र० । 26 M
interpunctuates here and not after ञादिभि । 27 W
सर्वपात० । 28 Sic W M (for वान् ?)

बौद्धादयो न ॥६१॥

अग्राह्या न ॥६२॥

मत्तकाशिन्यः सेव्याः ॥६३॥

पञ्चाशत्कोटियोजना पृथिवी ॥६४॥

सप्तद्वीपवती च ॥६५॥

सप्तसमुद्रावृता च ॥६६॥

कर्मभोगाति^{३१}[१२ख]भोगदिव्यगृङ्गारसिद्धकैवल्य इति द्वीपा-
भिधानाः ॥६७॥

मध्यः कर्मभूमिः ॥६८॥

तन्मध्ये गेरोराजम्बू^{३०} ॥६९॥

तत्रोत्तरे हिमवान् ॥७०॥

तस्य दक्षिणे नवसाहस्री भूः ॥७१॥

तत्र दक्षिणास्यो भारतः खण्डः^{३१} ॥७२॥

तत्र साक्षाद्दर्माधर्मफलाः सिध्यन्ति ॥७३॥

तत्र दण्डनीतिः ॥७४॥

पूर्वभारतीयैः पठितव्यः भविष्यैर्वर्तमानैश्च चातुर्वर्षिकैश्च ॥७५॥

दण्डनीत्या भगवान् भानुर्नृपतिः^{३२} ॥७६॥

29. W omits ना । 30 Corrupt, reading doubtful.

31 W ०न्यो । 32. W ०ति ।

बाधुश्च सर्वे^{३३} देवाश्च ॥७७॥

जन्तवश्च ॥७८॥

सहस्रयोजना बदरिकासेत्नन्ता ॥७९॥

द्वारकादिपुरुषोत्तम[१३क]सालग्रामान्ता सप्तशतयोजना^{३४} ॥८०॥

तत्रापि रैवतक^{३५} विन्ध्यसह्यकुमारमलयश्रीपर्वतपारियात्राः सप्त-
कुलाचलाः^{३६} ॥८१॥

गङ्गासरस्वतीकालिन्दीगोदावरीकावेरीताम्रपर्णीघृतमाला[:]
कुलनद्यश्च ॥८२॥

अष्टादश विषयाश्च ॥८३॥

अष्टादश सागरा नृपाः ॥८४॥

अष्टादश पार्वतीयाः ॥८५॥

रामसृष्टिश्चत्वारिंशच्छतं दक्षिणोत्तरे आसन्नं द्वादश विश्वा-
मित्रसृष्टिरेकादश ॥८६॥

नेपाले^{३८} चतुःशतम् ॥८७॥

पूर्वसमुद्रतोरे वरुणातःसमुद्रान्तमष्टयोज[१३ख]ना ॥८८॥

पञ्चशतद्वितयमुत्तरलाटे पूर्वलाटश्च ॥८९॥

काशीपाञ्चालद्वितयमग्नीतिः ॥९०॥

33. W सर्वे । 34. W ०नां । 35. W omits क । 36. W
०नां । 37. ०द्या । 38. M omits च; W has ०स्यश्च ।

केकयसृजय^{४१} षष्टिः ॥६१॥

मात्स्यमागधं^{४०} शतम् ॥६२॥

मालवशकुन्तमशीतिः ॥६३॥

कोसलावन्तिः^{४१} षष्टिः ॥६४॥

सैख^{४२} वैदर्भाद्वितयं शतद्वितयम् ॥६५॥

वन्देहकौरव^{४३} शतम् ॥६६॥

काम्बोजदर्शाणमशीतिः ॥६७॥

एते महाविषयाः ॥६८॥

एते खलु चतुरश्राः ॥६९॥

आरट्टवाह्नीकौ^{४४} दक्षिणोत्तरतः^{४५} शतमात्रौ पूर्वपश्चाद् द्वा-
दशौ ॥१००॥

शाकसौराष्ट्रौ चतुरश्रौ चत्वारिंशत् ॥१०१॥

अङ्गवङ्गकलिङ्गा^{४६} [१४क]ः शतमात्राश्चतुरश्राश्च ॥१०२॥

काश्मीरह्मणाम्बुसिन्धवः^{४७} शतमात्राश्चतुरश्राश्च ॥१०३॥

किरात^{४८} नौवीरचोलपाण्ड्या उत्तरे दक्षिणे स्थिताः शतम्
परं षष्टिमात्राः^{४९} ॥१०४॥

39. W ०४ । 40. W मात्स्य० । 41 W ०त । 42. Sec.
43 W ०४ । 44. W ०हि० । 45. W ०त्तरः । 46 W ०पश्चा ।
47. W ०जं । 48. W काश्मीरह्मणाम्बुसिन्ध० । 49 W किरात० ।
50 W ०त्रा ।

यादवकाञ्चीविषयं चत्वारिशच्छतमात्रम् ॥१०५॥

एते उपविषयाः ॥१०६॥

^{५३}सप्तकोङ्कणाश्चतुःशतमात्रा द्वादश षट्पञ्चैश्च ॥१०७॥

^{५५}एते अनूपाः ॥१०८॥

सप्तादौ चत्वारो गिरिविषयाः ॥१०९॥

श्रीपर्वते द्वयम् ॥११०॥

^{५६}रवतक एकः ॥१११॥

विन्ध्ये पञ्च ॥११२॥

कुमारे एकम् ॥११३॥

[१४ ख]महेन्द्रे त्रयम् ॥११४॥

पारियात्रे त्रयम् ॥११५॥

^{५७}सर्वे दक्षिणोत्तरतः पञ्चाशन्मात्राः पूर्वतःपश्चात् पञ्च-
योजनाः समाः ॥११६॥

म्लेच्छे यवनविषयाः पार्वतीयाः ॥११७॥

^{५८}ग्रामनगरोद्यानादिभिरलंकृताः पुण्यक्षेत्रादिभिश्च ॥११८॥

^{५९}अष्ट वैष्णवक्षेत्राः ॥११९॥

51 W omits श्री । 52. W ०य । 53 W स्त० । 54. W च
षट्पञ्चैश्च । 55 W आनु० । 56 W एकाः, M एका । 57 W
पञ्चाश० । 58. W ग्रामौह रो० । 59 Sic (Masc) here and in
the *sūtras* 122, 125 60 W ०नन्तं सि० ।

बदरिकासालग्रामपुरुषोत्तमद्वारकाविलवाचलानन्तसिंह^{६०} श्री-
रङ्गाः ॥१२०॥

अष्टौ शैवाः ॥१२१॥

अविमुक्त^{६१} [क] गङ्गाद्वारशिवक्षेत्ररामेयमुनाशिवसरम्भ^{६२}तीमव्य-
शार्दूलगजक्षेत्राः ॥१२२॥

शाक्ता अ[१५ क]ष्टौ च ॥१२३॥

आ^{६३}ध्याण^{६३} जालपूर्णकामकोल्लश्रीशैलकाञ्चीमहेन्द्राः ॥१२४॥

एते महाक्षेत्राः^{६४} ॥१२५॥

सर्वसिद्धिकराश्च ॥१२६॥

वन्ध्याश्च^{६५} ॥१२७॥

विन्ध्ये निसं वसति^{६६} दुर्गा भद्रकाली च ॥१२८॥

कुमारे कुमारो वसति निसं ॥१२९॥

सह्ये गणपतिः ॥१३०॥

रैवतके^{६७} शास्ता ॥१३१॥

महेन्द्रे गरुडः ॥१३२॥

पारियात्रे क्षेत्रपालः ॥१३३॥

कर्मभूमौ भारते मनुष्यैर्बहवो देवाः ॥१३४॥

61 W अविमुक्तसगङ्गा० । 62 W ०त्रा (masc. as in 119) 63 W द्युडी० । 64 Sic (masc.) 65 Sic (for वन्ध्याश्च ?) 66 M वसति । 67 W रैवते ।

सुरासुरयक्षराक्षसभूतप्रेतविनायककूश्माण्डा विकृताननाः

॥१३५॥

निरुद्धा भारवेष्टाः ॥१३६॥

सौम्यभैरवा योगिन्यश्च नागाश्च[१५ ख]मानवैः सह रूपरमा

प्रसंख्याताः संचरन्ति ॥१३७॥

मानवैः कृतपालनाश्च ॥१३८॥

तस्मिन्मृतमया औषधाः सन्ति ॥१३९॥

अत्र युगसंख्या कृतत्रेताद्वापरतिष्याश्च ॥१४०॥

कुले जज्ञिः ॥१४१॥

दण्डनीतिकोविदाः ॥१४२॥

मेतासां कर्मिणः नीतिविशारदाः ॥१४३॥

द्वापरे तान्त्रिकानुसारा घनारसाश्च ॥१४४॥

नीतिकोविदाश्च ॥१४५॥

विष्ये पादे ज्ञानकर्मा घना दण्डनीतिकोविदा नराः ॥१४६॥

तदुच्चरं विरुद्धधर्मवर्णवेष्टा दण्डनीतिवर्जिताः ॥१४७॥

पश्यन्ति मजा अनृतवादतत्पराश्चेत्याह[१६क]आचार्यः

॥१४८॥

इति बार्हस्पत्यसूत्रे तृतीयोऽध्यायः ॥

[चतुर्थोऽध्यायः ।]

ब्राह्मे मुहूर्त उत्थानम् ॥१॥

धर्ममर्थञ्च चिन्तयेत् ॥२॥

कुक्कुटशब्दं शुभम् ॥३॥

गजादिदर्शनञ्च ॥४॥

गजशब्दमङ्गलस्तुतिवेदपाठनञ्च ॥५॥

देवतापुण्यकथा च ॥६॥

राजन्यस्मरणञ्च ॥७॥

नेत्राञ्जनञ्च ॥८॥

आदर्शदर्शनञ्च ॥९॥

अलङ्कारयेत् ॥१०॥

ताम्बूलचर्वणं च ॥११॥

कर्पूरचन्दनागरुधूपञ्च ॥१२॥

शाङ्गकाहलविषाणाच्छिन्नवेणुवीणातन्त्री मृदङ्गपणवाः ॥१३॥

तूर्यघोषाश्च ॥१४॥

दिव्यप्रमदादर्शनं च ॥१५॥

[१६ ख] मागधभिन्नषड्ज च ॥१६॥

1 W कुक्कुटे शब्दम् (Sic neut) 2 M ० निषाद्य ० ।

3 M W ० तण्डुली ० । 4 W ० वज्र ।

जातिस्वरं च ॥१७॥

सर्पिषि सितपुष्पाणि ॥१८॥

मन्त्रवृत्तो बह्विः शतार्चिर्विष्णुलिङ्गधूमयुक्तो भवति ॥१९॥

तदधुभं गवां संदर्शनम् ॥२०॥

गृध्रसंदर्शनं च ॥२१॥

सन्ध्याज्वलनं च ॥२२॥

विरुद्धशिवारुतं च ॥२३॥

ऋष्यादमृगाणां शब्दो ग्रामपुरद्वारे वा श्रूयते ॥२४॥

देवताप्रतिमास्वेदश्च^६ यस्मिन्दृश्यते तत्र प्रायश्चित्तमन्यत्र

यानमेव प्रतिकारो नास्ति ॥२५॥

अवश्यनिरूपणीयान्येतानि कर्माणि ॥२६॥

मन्त्रमू[१७ क]लो विजयः ॥२७॥

त्रिविधाः पुरुषाः उत्तमाधममध्यमाः ॥२८॥

मन्त्रेऽपि ॥२९॥

बन्धुभिर्बान्धवैर्हितैर्बहुश्रुतैर्धीरैः सह यत् कर्मारभते तदु-

त्तमम् ॥३०॥

धर्मद्विविधं^७ गुरौ भक्तिश्च ॥३१॥

अर्थपरैः सह मन्त्रयित्वा य आरभते स उत्तमः ॥३२॥

5 W ०शमश्च। 6. W ०सेदश्च। 7 W ०स्ती। 8. W अवश्यनिः।
9. W मन्त्रो। 10 W here inserts देव। 11 W अथ०।

गुणदोषागमं निश्चित्य मौर्ख्यबाहुल्याद् य आरभते सो-
ऽधमः ॥३३॥

एकमत्येन दण्डनीतिनेत्रेण धीरैर्मन्त्रिभिर्योमन्त्रः स
उत्तमः ॥३४॥

पूर्वं बहुबुद्धयः पश्चादेकमतयो भवन्ति यत्र स मध्यमः ॥३५॥

[१७स्व]यत्र कलहम्भर्त्सनं च ^{१३} एकस्य धर्म ^{१४} एकस्वार्थे स्त्रीवास
वृद्धैः सह एकस्य रुदितमेकस्यक्रोधो यस्मिन् सोऽधमः ॥३६॥

पूर्वं स्वामिना कार्यनिवेदनम् ॥३७॥

पुनर्वचसा कर्मणा मनसाञ्जलिना दण्डप्रस्थायेन ^{१५} यथागुरुत्वं
स्वामिनमभिवन्दयेत् ॥३८॥

वृद्धो वैश्रवक्षो वाचस्पतिर्वा यस्यान्न नाभुञ्जते तं वन्देत् ॥३९॥

यत्पुनर्यथाक्रममेकैकस्य मतं श्रोतव्यम् ॥४०॥

स्वामिनं प्रसाद्य कार्यं कल्पयितव्यम् ॥४१॥

पूर्वं स्वामि[१८क]गुणं संकीर्त्य स्वामिदोषं परदोषं च
^{१६} मध्यस्थदोषं च ^{१७} मन्त्रायित्वा पुनः स्वामिगुणसंस्थापनं
कुर्यात् ॥४२॥

12 M मौर्ख्यात् बाहुलाद्या, W मौर्ख्या बाहुलाद्या । 13 Sic (neut) 14 W मद्यतम् । 15 M ग्लामी, see introduction, notes at the end. 16 M यस्यां ना । 17-17. W omits.

पुनः कार्याण्युपायानि निरूप्य स्वामिनं प्रसाद्य कार्यं कल्प-
यितव्यम् ॥४३॥

प्रमत्तेष्वभियुक्तेषु दैवोपहतेषु च न सिध्यन्ति विक्रमाः ॥४४॥

अप्रमत्तं धर्मज्ञं^{१९} जितेन्द्रियं विजिगीषु बलिषु जातकोपं दुराधर्षं
प्रति विक्रमो न कार्यः^{२०} ॥४५॥

शास्त्रवित् कथं कार्यं न प्रजानातीति न वदेत्^{२१} ॥४६॥

बलिष्ठान् शत्रून् कामादीन् ये जयन्ति ते सर्वानरीञ्जयन्ति ॥४७॥

[१८ख] पूर्वमुपकारं न कार्येत् ॥४८॥

उपकारं^{२२} नियतं कुर्याच्च ॥४९॥

नाभाविव्यसनं पूर्वं ज्ञात्वा व्यसनप्रतीकारं^{२३} कार्यमिति गुरु-
राह ॥५०॥

इति बार्हस्पत्यसूत्रे चतुर्थोऽध्यायः ।

18 *Sic* (neut) M W 19 W ०३॥ 20 W ०४॥ 21

M interpunctuates not here, but after शत्रून् । 22 W omits

त । 23 *Sic* (neut.)

[पञ्चमोऽध्यायः ।]

चत्वार उपायाः ॥१॥

त्रयश्च ॥२॥

मायोपेक्षा^१ वधश्च ॥३॥

सूरीषु^२ साम ॥४॥

शङ्कितेषु सामभेदौ ॥५॥

लुब्धेषु सामदानभेदाः ॥६॥

कष्टेषु सामभेददानमायोपेक्षावधाः ॥७॥

साम पूर्वं प्रयोक्तव्यम् ॥८॥

[१-६क] मनसोऽभिप्राय^३ वाचः प्रीतिकर्म च ॥९॥

ज्ञातीना ज्ञातयो व्यसने हृष्यन्ति ॥१०॥

ज्ञातिं ज्ञातयः प्रच्छन्नहृदयाः^४ क्रूरा उपद्रवन्ति ॥११॥

सर्वभयेषु ज्ञातिभयं घोरम् ॥१२॥

गोषु पयः ब्राह्मणे कोपश्च^५ ॥१३॥

स्त्रीषु चापल दूरत्वं ज्ञातिषु सौहृदं पत्रजलबिन्दुवत् ॥१४॥

हितं गुरुजनवाक्यं शास्त्रचोदितं च ये न शृण्वन्ति कालचो-

दितम् तस्मात् तान् सुपरिहृत्यान्यत्र वसेत् ॥१५॥

1 W ०शश् । 2 W ०म । 3 Sic (neut) 4 W ०ज्यां ।
5 W स्त । 6 W तपश् । 7 W पक्षपत्र० । 8 M एकं

लोकविरुद्धं नाचरेत् ॥१६॥

मन्त्र[१६ख]विद्यागुणपदमेषु ग्रहान् बान्धवान् कुशलादन्यत्र
न कार्यं व्यसनानि च ॥१७॥

दुर्जनं परिहृत्य वक्तव्यं विद्यायुक्तोऽपि गृहाहिरिव ॥१८॥

शत्रुपक्षादागतं न विश्वसेत् ॥१९॥

गुणतः संगृहीयात् ॥२०॥

भावैः परीक्षयेत् ॥२१॥

वीरणासारैः सह सामं ज्ञायते बुद्धिमविज्ञाने सहसा परीक्ष
[२० क]येत् ॥२२॥

शक्तिर्ज्ञातुं शक्यते ॥२३॥

प्रसन्नो न ॥२४॥

अज्ञाङ्गितमार्तिः स्वस्थः ॥२५॥

अक्षोपनश्च बालादयोऽपि विवृण्वन्ति हि तम् ॥२६॥

9. W मन्त्रमवि० । 10. Text corrupt in this *Sūtra* ?

11. गृहानि । 12. W here inserts दोषो न निरूप्य संगृहीयात् ।

13-13 W वीरणा । सारैस्सहसा मा Read वीरोऽसारैः सहसा न ?
For व् and वी (ओ) see introduction's end 14 ते ।

15. W विद्व० । 16 M तत् ।

स्वकुलस्य विनाशं ज्ञात्वा बुद्धिमाँस्तत्र शत्रुपक्षमपि न युक्त-
माश्रयेत् ॥२७॥

हृदये यथावच्छुभाशुभं पूर्वं उदेति न दुष्टाचारः सर्वत्र
कारयेत् ॥२८॥

चपला न बहुमान्याः ॥२९॥

इत्याहाचार्यो बृहस्पतिः ॥३०॥

इति बार्हस्पत्यसूत्रे पञ्चमोऽध्याय ।

17 °लस्यापि न० । 18 Read नययुक्तम् ? 19, w उदयति ।

[षष्ठोऽध्यायः ।]

[२०ख]देशकालयोग्य कर्म नयानयौ च वेदयेत् ॥१॥

विपरीतं न वेदवीर्यदर्पेण ॥२॥

द्वितानि निरूपयेत् ॥३॥

नमो मन्त्रिभिर्निरूप्य कार्यते ॥४॥

बुद्धिजीवनैरमात्यैः सह कार्यमकार्यं च निरूपयेत् ॥५॥

आहितं विकारं यस्य प्रतिभाति स मन्त्रयोग्यः ॥६॥

अर्थमार्जयेत् ॥७॥

षस्यार्थराशिरस्ति तस्य मित्राणि धर्मश्च विद्या च गुणविक्रमो
च बुद्धिश्च ॥८॥

अधनेना[२१क]र्थमार्जयितुं न शक्यते गजोऽगजेनेव ॥९॥

धनमूलं जगत् ॥१०॥

सर्वाणि तत्र सन्ति ॥११॥

निर्धनो मृतश्चण्डालश्च ॥१२॥

एवं धर्ममूलं च विद्यामार्जयेत् ॥१३॥

विद्यामूलं जगत् ॥१४॥

विद्या पुनः सर्वमिच्छाह गुरुः ॥१५॥

इति बार्हस्पत्यसूत्रे षष्ठोऽध्यायः ।

BRIHASPATI SŪTRA

Now the *Bṛhaspati Sūtra*

Now Bṛhaspati,* the Preceptor, expounds to India the Whole Substance of Policy.

I (PERSONAL CONDUCT)

- 1 Self-mastery is the quality of a king
- 2 As minister he should appoint one master of himself
- 3 His sole science is the Administration of Punishment [= Government]
- 4 Even right he should not practise when disapproved by the world
- 5 Should he practise it, it should be after recommending it by persons of intelligence.
- 6 He is to be served by his like.
- 7 With women, children or the aged, he should not discuss measures of right and policy.
- 8 He should not engage in magic shows [*indrajāla*],
- 9 In incantations [*mantras*], however, and festivities;
- 10 Also in counteracting diseases and poisonings.
- 11 Not smearing with ashes [like an ascetic].

*Concerning Bṛhaspati as founder of the Science of Policy see the Introduction.

3 On the question of the king's sciences see *Arthashastra*, c. 1.

6 On this question of choice of ministers etc. see *Arthashastra*, cc. 4-5, also 80 *infra*.

10 On poison in the palace see *Arthashastra*, c. 17.

12 Also not sacrifice [*agnihotā*], Veda-reading,
and so forth

13 Not processions to sacred places

14 Also not service of a king

15 Nor service of women

16 He should not drink intoxicants

17 Nor slay a Brāhman

18 Nor practise theft,

19 Nor much indulge in garlands and unguents

20 He should not be dejected.

21 Nor over wrathful.

22 What is called non-giving is gived on a wrong
occasion.

23 In a (true) field he should have seed sown

24 Giving should be practised

25 Aversion therefrom is greed

26 Theft is also greed

27 Pleasure is a cause of expenditure of means,

28 A will to hurt genus, gods, wise men, kings,
and so forth is anger,

29 And it is a smiting of one's own head

30 An enemy equal, in forces and so forth he
should slay in war,

31 Other adversaries [*m* If attacking others,
then] by conciliation, gifts, dissension, pretended
ignoring, and so on.

32 He should not have sordid dress.

22 Text and translation uncertain More intelligible
would be *arishaye danam* 'giving on a wrong occasion is
called non-giving'

31 I translate *anyabheyodhinah*.

32 So, he should never be in *dashabilla*.

33 And he should not practise over-indulgence in hunting

34 From over attachment to women ill-repute grows,

35 And vitality wastes.

36 In association with those guilty of gaming, provoking others, abusing others, the weaknesses of others (are exposed) along with the words of *mantras* in learned or frivolous play (?).

37 Taking of medicine, evacuation of urine and faeces, bathing, teeth-cleaning, enjoyment of copulation, worship of divinities,—these also are to be done in private

38 A sham professor of virtue he should not trust;

39 Nor censure either.

40 Nor upon seeing mad or stupid persons, and so forth, should he laugh at them

41 His sport in private should be with those of like character and age.

42 Elephant and horse sports in public, not with creatures of two (different) kinds.

43 And he should not harm living beings of his own kind

44 Desire should be felt for superiority to prede-

36 Rendering conjectural. Are the *mantras* quasi oaths ?

40 So also in the *Shukra-niti* III 230 'The miserable, the blind, the dwarf, and the dumb are never to be laughed at.'

42 Contests of dissimilar animals are here, it seems, denounced. Or we might take *rahasye* from 41 and, reading *tadnimurtam*, render 'Elephant and horse sports in private, in public those with other species.' This is less likely.

cessors and successors in respect of wealth, popularity, nobility, and magnanimity

45 Traditional right, goodwill of dependents, and councillors, relatives, friends, kinsmen, he should all alike consider;

46 In respect of dependents, punishment and largesse, within and without,

47 In respect of councillors, conciliation, dissension, and largesse,

48 In respect of relatives, allotments of income for the sake of conciliation, dissension, largesse

49 To even an unwelcome speech he should listen.

50 In bad weather, when the planets are hostile, at the *nakshatra* of three birthdays, and when serious business presents itself he should not attend to festivities

51 He should attach to himself a wife of the same country, of the same form, and of noble birth

52 He should cause especially dissensions (among the wives), excessive conciliation, excessive largesse are not to be practised, nor punishment to be used towards women, nor pretended inobsequance.

53 Among them he should not say much.

54 Among village petitioners, panegyrists, bards, minstrels, actors, dancing-women, instructors, hars, boys, pimps, traders, herdsmen, harlots, mean knugs, he is to be addressed in pompous untruths

46 'Within and without' - sc. the capital

50 'Three birthdays' - perhaps his own, that of his father, and that of his grandfather.

51 'Of the same form' (*eśarupīnī*) - perhaps = 'of the same caste' (*ekavarṇa*)

55 Association with kings, harlots, soothsayers, and dependents he should not indulge in long.

56 He should frequent one whose superiority is in himself,

57 Prospects and so forth [he should regard] not overmuch

58 Those attached to women, gambling, drinking he should not have in his service.

59 During five *nâdikâs* prayer to the divinity of his choice, that passed, the audience,

60 During ten *nâdikâs*, administration of justice, during five *nâdikâs* the bath,

61 During three *nâdikâs* the repast,

62 During five *nâdikâs* amusement and play with dear ones,

63 During two *nâdikâs* twilight worship,

64 During seven *nâdikâs* nautch and so forth,

65 During seven *nâdikâs* sexual intercourse, repast, and so forth,

66 During seven *nâdikâs* sleep

67 He should rule himself without failure of vigilance,

68 Like the driver of a horse.

69 High Brâhmans [he should greet] with a shake of his head, welcome and giving of leavings and betel,

56 Or 'his own lord.'

59-66 On the disposition of a king's time see *Arthashastra*, c. 16, and Prof. Formichi, *Gh. Indians &c.*, pp 66 sqq. A *nadika* = $\frac{1}{2}$ *muhurta* = 24 minutes.

68 'Shaking of the head' on this as a sign of approval see the passages quoted by me in *Kavindracanasesamuccaya* ad v. I.

70 A mean Brâhman not with a shake of the head, even if he brings a present,

71 A like prince or emperor with welcome, with a seat, with a shake of the head, with gift of betel and with jocular talk,

72 Men of the three castes with a smile, with welcome, and audience (?),

73 Shûdras not with a glance or smile nor with welcome,

74 Children, the aged, and so forth, with giving of something which they like,

75 Low-caste [Foreign ?] people and heretics not even with an utterance.

76 Owing to importance of business he may have recourse to them,

77 Let him say little, however, and assign the employment

78 Let him not accept fine gold [or receive men of the (3) castes] in private

79 With workmen, even in his employ, let him not deliberate upon the task

80 With his friends let him choose a like friend as councillor,

81 But if low-born, he must be one having not low-born caste,

82 Low-born persons have the characteristic of not mentioning their own objects and of executing orders.

83 So he should not over-cherish them,

84 Nor again should he trust them

72 'Audience' I translate *asthanana*, but the text is corrupt.

78 *Varnika-parigrakṣa*. Read *varnika-parigraha* ?

79 'Even in his employ' so translate *yoginah* ?

85 Knowing all, he need not act

86 Secrecy in regard to right, secrecy in regard to home and going abroad, secrecy in regard to measures, secrecy in regard to enmities, in failure of prestige he should deny even the truth

87 Physicians, astrologers, soothsayers he should entertain, if possessed of conduct and character

88 Even the truth, if causing grief or misfortune, he should not speak

89 Up to twenty-five years he should passionately practise the study of sport

90 Thenceforward acquisition of wealth

91 He should keep himself free from indebtedness

92 Indebted he becomes by three means, pleasure, anger, and greed

93 And he should continually guard his person

94 He should not neglect the regular rites

95 If there is a popular clamour, he may omit a minor rite

96 Upon a lost cause let him not stand,

97 Far to be avoided then is even a serious matter of sovereignty

98 He should not favour new commanders who are *Kusumāntas*

99 A slight loss is to be borne

100 As with families of elephants, bandits, noxious serpents, and tigers living in forest or cemetery among

98 *Kusumāntas* this word, which recurs in *sūtra* 105, is quite mysterious (? = *Pallava*, or *pallava*, i.e. *vita*?).

99 The meaning seems to be that a commander should not be dismissed for a slight failure.

100 The idiom seems to be that of the nursery rhyme

those who in comparison therewith are inoffensive
 feuds of kinsmen are not to be engaged in.

101 Like dogs with one piece of flesh is that estate
 of sovereignty, when the sovereignty is in trouble

102 Policy truly is like a tree on a river's bank

103 So he is not to desire [it]

104 *Kusumântas* and so forth are inimical to all
 creatures

105 Prestige, vigour, vitality, greatness—these
 are destroyed by excessive cultivation of *Kusumântas*

106 Desire, anger, conceit, jealousy, hypocrisy,
 and so forth he should not encourage.

107 An enemy of good character is a friend

108 Among friends one of good character is an enemy.

109 Between moon and sun there is hostility by
 reason of their common brightness (tastes)

110 Were it not so, they would both stand fast

111 Where there is feud among relatives, those
 two families perish to the root

112 Whoso abandons the science of awarding
 punishment, helpless he like a moth enters the flame all
 unwittingly.

So speaks the holy Preceptor, guru of the chief of
 the Gods.

So in the *Bṛihaspati Sūtra* the First Chapter.

'Let dogs delight &c.' With the reading *•kule* we should render
 'he dwells as it were in a family'

101 *Shon* 'dog' probably means more exactly 'pack of
 dogs' cf. *a shon* and Panini iv 2. 48

103, 110 We might translate 'If between sun and moon
 there was hostility .., they would not continue'.

11 (DUTIES AND PRINCIPLES)

- 1 Sovereignty belongs to one possessing advantages.
 - 2 There is advantage of knowledge, advantage of wealth, and advantage of comrades .
 - 3 Gratification of his own family also and protection of usage,
 - 4 Agriculture, cattle-rearing, trade.
 - 5 Universally the Lokâyata system of doctrine is alone to be followed at the time of acquiring gain,
 - 6 Only the Kâpâlîka as regards attainment of pleasure,
 - 7 The Ârhata in regard to right.
 - 8 The Lokâyata is not really profitable (?), the advantage quickly perishes
 - 9 So the Kâpâlîka, the Ârhata, and the Bauddha.
 - 10 On these relying, he is like the moth and the fire.
 - 11 The fruits are like ear-water [or water in the ear ?].
-

1 *Guna* is here used in an untechnical sense ('strong point')

4 The *Arthashastra* mentions (c 1) the same three matters (*krishî*, *pashupalya*, and *banijya*) as the components of *varîte*, or business, one of the studies of a king

5 The *Lokâyata* doctrine, along with *Sanikhya* and *Yoga*, makes up the triad of philosophy in the *Arthashastra* (c 1).

6 Elsewhere the *Kapalîkas* are a Shaiva sect . see the St Petersburg lexicon and *ref*

8-35 These *Sûtras*, which seem at variance with the preceding, and which betray a strong sectarian bias, may be suspected of being an interpolation. No. 36 joins on well to No. 7.

11 'Ear-water' . is this a synonym of 'sky-flower, &c. as 'nonentity' ? or 'water in the ear' (so not in the mouth or only heard of) ?

12 When one characterized by ignorance desires in a matter connected with right to effect a human object, then he is a heretic entitled *Laukâyatika*

13 When a *Candâla* is desirous of enjoying fine drink, flesh, and so forth, then he is a heretic entitled *Kâpalika*

14 When abandoning twilight worship and so forth, sacrifice and so forth, he desires the duty of non-killing, then he is a *Kshapanaka* heretic.

15 When, abandoning the rites described in the *Veda*, and knowledge of them, also *Shiva*, the Lord of All, *Vishnu*, and *Shu*, a man declares that all is void, then he is a heretic entitled *Bauddha*

16 When he declares right to be vain, a means to gain, he is a *Laukavatika*, and he declares that the *pinda* and so on are theft

17 He does all for profit,—sacrifice, twilight prayer, and so forth

18 To conceal his failing, one afflicted with desire studies the *Veda*,

19 He performs sacrifices and so forth

20 He does it with a view to drinking wine, with a view to intercourse with women

21 He says *Vishnu* and the others are wine-drinkers—so the *Kâpalika*

14 *Kshapanaka* = *Jain*.

15 'Knowledge' read *karmajalam* 'mass of rites'?

16 *Pinda* the reference seems to be to the food offered to the dead the custom was ridiculed by the followers of *Brihaspati*, as appears from the *Carvaka*, or *Lokayata*, chapter in the *Sarva-darshana-samgraha*.

22 The Kshapanaka, aiming at right, speaks of right as depending on the bearing of rags and broom :

23 He speaks of Shiva and so on,—so the Kshapanaka

24 With a view to abuse of others he studies Veda, *Shâstra*, right and so forth

25 He reproaches all,

26 Even Maheshvara, Vishnu and so forth,

27 He also speaks of right with a view to eating;

28 For the sake of discussion he praises others—this is the Bauddha

29 The Laukâyatika, when dead, is a denizen of hell, extern to profit, pleasure, right, and liberation

30 And the same applies to his family, that family perishes within the period of sons and grandsons

31 The Kâpâlî, abandoned by his village, household, and relatives, becomes a denizen of hell, denounced by all people :

32 And at that very time his family perishes

33 The Kshapanaka is denounced by his family, and those who live in the village, and three families perish

34 The Bauddha becomes a very detested denizen of hell, and his existing family perishes, or in the time of sons and grandsons.

35 Connection with heretics of this sort he should not have, even in thought.

36 Even by one whose counsels are well ordered,

22 The "broom" is the brush of twigs which the Jain ascetics carry in order to brush away insects

34 The Sanskrit sentence is here confused : but the meaning is clear

36 [Not] we may, if we prefer, read *adharmikena*. This *Sutra* connects well with No 7

who discerns the weak points of others, and who is [not ?] a man of virtue, sovereignty cannot be preserved.

37 One infatuated with the conceit of power, filled with greed and pride, loses what has been acquired.

38 Whoso, after reflecting upon his measures, enjoys himself, he achieves the highest success

39 He must so do that by his action he is not known by the world as 'knowing what to do, bent upon profit,' or as 'a man of righteousness'

40 Like Ishvara, like Moon and Sun

41 Counsel is the action of effecting unity of opinion on the part of persons conforming to a master's mind.

42 A councillor must speak of measures, regardless of his master's preference

43 The fruit of policy is attainment of right, advantage, and pleasure.

44 Pleasure and advantage are to be tested by right,

45 Right by right ;

46 Advantage by advantage ;

47 Pleasure by pleasure ,

48 Liberation of the soul by liberation.

49 Injunction of a guru is to be executed, even when at variance with right, as the marriage of the Pândavas, Arjuna's asceticism, Vyâsa's intercourse with a widow, the begetting of Karna, Râma's punishment of a mother and so on

40 'Like Ishvara' . his motives must be inscrutable.

49 The references are to well-known stories in the *Mahabharata*.

50 Even a son, at variance with policy, is an enemy

51 The young, the vicious, reckless, unacquainted with *śāstras*, he should not admit to counsel

52 Dull - witted, immoral, violent, thoughtless, irascible, foolish young men are not to be employed in counsel

53 Let all jewels even be given to preserve one's own purpose, life, and prestige

54 During counsel he should not not evoke anger

55 Right is the main factor , not personal objects,

56 Happiness unrighteously enjoyed is no friend.

57 Maintenance of position is [or and] enhancement.

58 Like one who eats what is not wholesome but is on good terms with [or as taking a precaution against, *Pratikāra*] death,

A man true to his word, relying upon the *Śāstras*, might even dry the ocean

59 If he is angry [his dependents] become discouraged and timid.

60 One bad man ruins many

61 Fate depends upon manhood.

51 We translate *mantra na praveśhayet*

53 The 'jewels' are the various 'treasures' of a king, his wife, minister, general and so forth

57 I translate *sthitiṃ vardhanam* reading *sthitiṃ vardhanam*, we might render ' [he should aim at] enhancement of his actual position' or '.. conservation and enhancement '

58 The idea may be that of fortifying oneself against poison.

61 A common sentiment of *Shukra-ni*, 1.95-6

62 Whoso loves his own wife and in taming himself has capacity, is without equal

63 A good man turns not aside 'through fear

64 What at that time is proper is not to be spoken by friends not conversant with matters of speech

65 One of arrogant heart, lost to respect for right, not self-controlled, he could not admonish

66 when exhausted with frightful acts,' sunk in the sleep of ignorance, he should enlighten the fool with the cool airs of righteous speeches

67 Among bad men a good man shines forth like the sun

68 Those committed to unrighteousness he should check by proper conduct

69 In unrighteousness he should not involve himself

70 In ill-repute he should not involve himself

71 He should not slay

72 Let a fool be restrained, like an elephant, with the hook of righteous reading

73 A guru's word is not to be transgressed, if in accordance with reason

74 Even a guru, if not equipped with policy, he should disregard.

75 A guru says it

So in the *Bṛhaspati Sūtra* the Second Chapter

III (VIDYĀ)

1 Manliness is the quality of one superior to weakness

2 One becomes superior to weakness by residence in other countries

3 Of all powers, times, countries, conciliations, natures, strengths, exercises, ages knowledge is to be acquired

4 Also endurance of fasting and so forth.

5 He should make treasures with fragrances and robes.

6 A long conversation he should hold only if a gracious one

7 All his like-minded ' jewels ' he should ever seek to please

8 He should know new mantras

9 These are threefold Shakta, Vaiṣṇava, Shaiva and their further divisions

10 Entrance to the city of Liberation is by three:

11 Shākta, Vaiṣṇava, Shaiva

12 The Shākta is like a journey in a vessel,

13 The Vaiṣṇava like a high road ,

14 That which believes in *Kerala* and *Pradhāna* is like a horse chariot ,

15 The *Laukāyatika*, *Kṣhapanaka*, *Bauddha* and so forth are like a cavernous route through a desolate forest swarming with many tigers and malignant beasts.

9—16 Again apparently a sectarian insertion
cf *ad* II 8, III 83

14 This is the Shiva system - see *Sarvadarśhana samgraha*, c. VI.

16 Having marked this, let him have recourse to one

17 Let him ever mark the aspect of the lord of lights (the moon ?)

18 And let him defend the order of four castes

19 And let him make use of medicines ,

20 These which fortify strength, complexion, energy, self-esteem, intelligence, courage, compassion, and reduce the faulty humours

21 Let him procure success by gifts, honours, ornaments, and sciences

22 Let him watch the eighteen *Tirthas*

23 *Tirthas* are the six constituents of royalty, also enemy, friend, and neutral

24 Also intestine enemy, intestine friend, intestine neutral, and these are dependents, companions, and friends.

25 Also wives, sons, and kinsmen

26 Others also [to be watched] are temples, places for dances and.

27 sacrifices, twilight, pools, cross-roads, heretic abodes, shops, schools for the young, parade-grounds, fields, new-moon etc festivals, harlots' houses, the sea-shore, presence of ascetics, frontiers, places for sale of liquor, serais for travellers

22 *Tirthas* . a technical term in the Science of Policy for the important personalities in the kingdom. The use is somewhat peculiar in 23.

23 The constituents (*prakṛti*), as usually enumerated, are king, minister, country, fortress, treasury, army, and friend: see *Arthashastra*, c. 93, and Formichi, *op. cit.*, p. 92.

27 'Twilight-pools' would be places for performing twilight worship.

- 28 Let him have festive attire
 29 At the city gate let there be a general stoppage.
 30 However, let him not exclude all.
 31 Let him honour *Itihāsas* and *Purānas* ,
 32 And expositions thereof .
 33 And the *Shākta* scriptures .
 34 And the *Vaikhānasa* scriptures ,
 35 And the *Sāṅkhya* ,
 36 And the *Sharva*.
 37 As regards all these, let him perform and
 require the due study.
 38 A Brāhman let him not slay, even if infected
 with faults,
 39 To the unmerciful [no] mercy should be
 shown,
 40 Let him show respect to village headmen
 41 Also to city magnates.
 42 Let him conciliate even the weak,
 43 By largesse much
 44 Not also with little.
 45 In the case of excellent persons not in the
 order of the plenitude of their merits.
 46 Let him play with dice :
 47 Also [Or] let him not play at all
 48 Serpents and so forth let him slay.
-

32 'Expositions' The word *paka* would seem to be a synonym for *pakti* in *janapakti*, *lokapakti* 'teaching the people' : see *Shatapatha-Brahmana* XI 5 7 1.

33—7 These *sūtras* are perhaps again an insertion : see Introduction and ad II. 8, III. 9.

39 Or "no mercy (*adaya*).

49 High Brāhman, perfected by various *mantras* and rich in knowledge, let him honour

50 Brāhman of other countries, *Kshatriyas*, princes, feudatories, and so forth let him welcome as if they were himself with viands, clothing, and so forth

51 A refugee, though qualified by all crimes, let him protect

52 Let him check the bad ,

53 And protect the learned

54 Let him not oppress a village

55 Or a city

56 Or temples

57 Let him in the use of fermented liquors ,

58 Not in excess, however

59 Also flesh food

60 Compassion to life must be shown

61 The Bauddha way and so forth not

62 Nor as regards imperceptible (creatures).

63 Gay ladies are to be used

64 The earth has a measure of fifty krores of *yojanas*

65 And it has seven continents

66 And is gut with seven seas

67 *Kauma*, *Bhoga*, *Atibhoga*, *Divya*, *Shringāra*,

61 The Buddhists and Jains especially denounce killing in sacrifice

62 'Imperceptible' apparently a reference to the Jain precautions against killing small creatures.

67 These names, as applied to the seven *dravyas*, do not seem to occur elsewhere but *Bh-recta Varsha* is *karma-bhumi* in the *Vishnu-purana*, II. 3. 2.

Siddha and *Kaivalya* are the designations of the continents

68 The midmost is the Land of Action (*Karma*)

69 What is in the middle thereof, as far as the Jambu tree, belongs to Meru

70 Therein to the north is Himvat

71 On the south of that is land of nine thousand (*yojanas*).

72 Therein to the south is Bhâta Khanda

73 There the fruits of righteousness and unrighteousness have their visible effect.

74 In relation therto is the administration of punishment.

75 It is to be studied by the people of Bhârata, past, future, and present and by men of the four castes

76 By administration of punishment the holy Sun is king :

77 And Wind and all the gods

78 And mortal creatures.

79 From Badarikâ to [Râma's] Bridge is a distance of one thousand *yojanas*

80 From Dvârkâ as far as Purushottama and the

70 'On the north' - This cannot mean on the north of Meru or of Jambudvîpa, which would be contrary to the ordinary view - it must, therefore, mean 'starting with the north' of India.

71 'Nine thousand' The usual estimate, as in the *Vishnu-Purana* II. 3. 2.

79 'One thousand' The same estimate is given by the *Vayu-Purana* see Wilson's note in *Vishnu-P.* (ed Hall, II p 127).

80 The *Purushottama-lakshira* is in Orissa, and the

Shālagrāma is a distance of seven hundred *yojanas*

81 In this area also are the seven Great Mountains, Raivataka, Vindhya, Sahya, Kumāra, Malaya, Shripavata, Pāriyātra

82 And the Great Rivers, Gangā, Sarasvatī, Kālīndī, Godāvari, Kāveri, Tāmrapaṇī, Ghṛitāmālā

83 And eighteen countries

84 Eighteen are the maritime kings

85 And eighteen the hill kings

86 The creation of Rāma consists of one hundred and forty (*yojanas* ?) on the south and north, as far as the Sahya twelve, that of Viśhvāmītra eleven

87 Nepal one hundred and four

88 On the shore of the eastern sea

From Varuna to the sea is a space of eight *yojanas*.

shālagrama-ksh is supposed to be on the river G. ndāḥ see Wilson's *Viśhnu-P* (index)

82 'Great Rivers' The word *luluvadi* does not seem to occur elsewhere On the various lists of the chief rivers see Wilson's note, *Viśhnu-P* II pp 131-2 The *Ghṛitāmālā* is, doubtless, Wilson's *Kṛitāmālā*.

86 'The Creation of Rama' and 'the Creation of Viśhvāmītra' The Epic story of Viśhvāmītra's attempt at a rival creation is well known, but the phrase *Viśhvāmītra-erishī* does not seem to occur in the literature In the tradition of the pandits the idea is quite familiar, *Viśhvāmītra* being credited (like Ahriman among the Iranians) with the authorship of all faulty or misshapen and misbegotten things, such as the mirage.

The application of the numbers in this *sūtra* is obscure. Is 'as far as the Sahya' = 'in breadth' ?

88 The site of the *Varuna-tīrtha* does not appear to be known.

89 Each one hundred and five are northern Lâta,
And eastern Lâta

90 Kâshî and the Pâncâla country are together
eighty ,

91 Kekaya and Simjaya are sixty ,

92 The Matsya and Magadha country one hundred ,

93 Mûlava and Shakunta eighty ,

94 Kosla and Avantî sixty ,

95 Saihya and Vidarbha together two hundred ,

96 Videha and the Kuru country one hundred ,

97 Kâmboja and Dîshâina eighty

98 These are the great countries

99 These indeed are four-cornered

100 The Âratta and Bahlika country are from
south to north one hundred, from east to west twelve

101 The Shaka and Surâshtra country are four-
cornered and of forty

102 Anga, Vanga, and Kalinga are of one hundred
and four-cornered

103 Kâshmir, the Huna and Ambashtha countries,
and Sindh are of one hundred and four-cornered

104 The Kirâta, Sauvîra, Cola, and Pândya coun-
tries, situated on north and south are of one hundred
increased by sixty.

89 sqq For other lists of countries and peoples see
Mahabharata, *Bhishma-parvan*, IV 317-378. *Vishnu-Purana*, II 8,
Varaha's Brâhî-samhita, XIV, *Garga-samhita* (*Janapada-tyuha*).

98 Shakunta is not elsewhere known as name of a country
or people.

103 The Hunas are, doubtless, those of Hundesh.

105 The Yâlava country and Kâncî are of one hundred and forty

106 These are minor countries

107 The seven Konkans are of one hundred and four, and the. .

108 These are on the water

109 On mount Sahaya are four hill countries ,

110 On Shripârvata two ,

111 On Raivataka one ,

112 On the Vindhya five ,

113 On Kumâra one ,

114 On Mahendra three,

115 On Pânyâtia three

116 All are equal, from south to north of fifty, from east to west of five *yojanas*

117 In the Mleccha region are Yavana countries, mountainous

118 The countries are adorned with villages, cities, gardens, and so forth, and with holy domains and so forth

119 Eight are the Vaishnava domains ,

120 Badarikâ, Shâlgrâma, Purushottama, Dvârika, Bilvâcala, Ananta, Simha, Shîranga

121 Eight the Shaiva ,

122 Avimuktaka, Gangâ-dvâra, Shiva-kshetra,

105 Yâlavas: Perhaps those of Devagiri.

107 For the 'seven' Konkans, see Wilson's *Vishnu purana* (ed. Hall II p. 178, n. 14)

119—127 Again an insertion?

120 Bilvâcala . . Simha : Perhaps the Bilvâdri and Simbâcala of which *mahatmyas* exist.

Rame-Yamuná (?), Shiva-sarasvatī, Mavja, Shárdūla,
and Gaja kshetras

123 The Shákta are also eight ;

124 Oghghīna Jāla, Pūna, Kāma, Kolla, Shri-
shaila, Kāncī, Mahendra.

125 These are the great domains ;

126 And effective of all attainment ;

127 Also ineffectual [or to be worshipped],

128 On the Vindhya dwells perpetually Durgā,
and Bhadrakālī ,

129 On Kumāra Kumāra dwells perpetually ,

130 On Sahya Ganapati ;

131 On Rāvatāka the Teacher ,

132 On Mahendra Garuda ,

133 On Pānyāta Kshetrapāla.

134 In the Land of Action, which is Bhārata, the
gods are many times as numerous as the men.

135 Gods, Demons, Yakshas, Rākshasas, Bhūtas,
Pretas, Vināyakas, Kūshmāndas, those with distorted
features

136 What they carry and their dress are deter-
minate

137 Friendly or Terrifying, *Yoginis* and *Nāgas*;
they, assuming forms at will, consort in countless
numbers with mankind.

138 And by men they may be protected

139 In that [Bhārata country] are ambrosial herbs.

122 Avimuktaka Benares.

124 Oghghīna Ujjain ?

131 The Teacher Brihaspati.

133 Kshetrapala Shiva.

140 At this point the number of the ages, the *Kṛitā*, *Tretā*, *Dvāpara*, and *Tishya*

141 In the *Kṛitā* [the creatures are] possessed of knowledge ,

142 And versed in the administration of punishment, ,

143 In the *Tretā* they are active and skilled in policy

144 In the *Dvāpara* they are followers of *Tāntṛikas* and of strong tastes,

145 And versed in policy

146 In the *Tishya* quarter men are strong in knowledge and action, and versed in the administration of punishment

147 After that they are of diverse rightfulness, colour, and dress, and void of the administration of punishment

148 And the peoples behold, intent upon false speaking Thus says the Preceptor.

So in the *Bṛhaspati Sūtra* the third chapter.

140 The *Mahābhārata* also names the *Tishya* as the fourth age

IV (Omens and Counsel)

- 1 At the Bráhma hour the rising from sleep.
- 2 Let him consider right and interest.
- 3 The cry of the cock is auspicious
- 4 Also the sight of an elephant and so forth,
- 5 Also the sound of elephants, the chanting of auspicious praises, and Veda-recitation ;
- 6 Also holy talk of divinities ;
- 7 Also recollection of nobles ,
- 8 Also eye-collyrium
- 9 Also looking in a mirror.
- 10 Let him adorn [himself] .
- 11 Also chewing of betel
- 12 Also camphor, sandal, incense of agallochum:
- 13 Conchs, *Káhalas*, horns, cut reeds, guitars, harps, drums, kettle-drums
- 14 And noises of trumpets ;
- 15 Also seeing of divine women
- 16 Also the interrupted first note of the minstrel (?)
- 17 Also the sound of the *ñi* melody (or 'the cry of birth ')
- 18 White flowers in liquid butter.
- 19 Fire satisfied with *mantras* becomes of one hundred flames, and attended with smoke having the sing of Vishnu
- 20 Then the spectacle of oxen is inauspicious

I The *Brahma mukurta* is the early morning see Weber *Indische Studien*, x p 296, and *Āitareya Brahmana* II. 15.

4 The Greek writers mention the early morning salutation of an Indian king by an elephant (Aelian, XIII. c. 22).

12 Or 'incense of camphor, sandal, and agallochum

- 21 Also the spectacle of vultures
22 Also a twilight blaze
23 Also the cry of quarrelling jackals.
24 On the sound of carnivorous beasts is heard at
the gate of village or city
25 Where also sweating of images of gods is per-
ceived, there departure to another place is the only
appeasement there is no remedy
26 Unavoidably to be observed are these acts
27 Victory is rooted in counsel
28 Men are of three kinds, best, worst and middle.
29 In counsel also [is the same triplicity]
30 That action is best which is undertaken in
company with connections, kinsmen, friends, the
learned, the thoughtful
31 And, when right is doubtful, devotion to a
guu
32 He is best who sets to after taking counsel
with men intent on advantage
33 If, after thinking out good and bad results, he
sets to through being overcome by folly, he is the
worst
34 That counsel is best which is taken unapimo-
usly, under the guidance of policy, by wise counsellors.
35 Where, at first of divers opinions, they are
afterwards unanimous, that is the middle

25 'Sweating of images' Cf. *Harsha-carita*, trans., p 147,
also Vergil's *et maestum illecrimat templis ebur aeraque sudant*
(*Georg* 1 480), and Milton's

'And the chill marble seems to sweat

'While each peculiar power forgoes his wonted seat'

36 Where there is broiling and reproach, one being for right, one for interest, along with women, children, and the aged, tears on the one part, anger on the other, that is the worst.

37 First the measure is introduced by the master

38 Then with voice, action, mind, salutation, and rigid prostration let them in order of dignity be made to salute the master

39 Let him salute him whose food Vaishravana or Vâcaspati when old refuses not to eat.

40 For the rest the opinion of each in order is to be heard.

41 The measure is to be considered after placating the master

42 Having first extolled the master's strong points, and then weighed his master's weak points, the weak points of the adversary, and the weak points of the neutral, let him again lay stress upon the master's strong points.

43 Having again described the measures and the means, and having placated the master, he is to consider the measure.

44 With careless, assailed, unfortunate persons warlike enterprises do not succeed

38 'Rigid prostration' The word *dandapranama* 'prostration with the body straight as a stick' occurs in the *Dashakumara-carita* see the St Petersburg lexicon.

39 Vaisravana and Vâcaspati are apparently named as types of king and Brahman. Note the negative verb *abhunjate*.

42 *Guna* and *dosh* are here untechnical cf II 1.

45 Against a not careless, right-knowing person, a master of his senses, a conqueror, one angry against the powerful, and hard to assail warlike enterprise is not to be undertaken.

46 " One knowing the *Shāstras*, how does he not understand measures? " so let him not say

47 Those who conquer the strongest enemies, pleasure and so forth, they conquer all foes.

48 Let him not make the first advance in rendering services

49 Also let him certainly render service

50 As regards an unavoidable disaster, having discerned it in advance, let him provide remedy for the disaster

51 So says the Guru.

So in the *Bṛhaspati Sūtra* the Fourth Chapter

46 I e let him not claim practical infallibility on the ground of learning

V (*Upāyas*)

- 1 Four means
- 2 Also three
- 3 Also pretended oversight and slaying
- 4 In dealing with the bold conciliation ,
- 5 With the timid conciliation and division ,
- 6 With the greedy conciliation, largesse, and division ,
- 7 With the vexatious conciliation, division, largesse, pretended oversight, and slaying.
- 8 Conciliation is to be set to work first
- 9 The purpose of the mind and also the friendly action of the voice
- 10 Relatives are pleased at the misfortune of relatives
- 11 Relatives, in their secret hearts malignant, take advantage of a relative
- 12 Among all dangers the danger of relatives is to be dreaded
- 13 In cows milk and in a Brahman anger [are certain] ,
- 14 In women fickleness, in kinsmen remoteness , friendship is like a drop of water upon a leaf
- 15 The friendly speech of elders, also inspired by *Shāstras*, whoso heed not, are inspired by destiny :them, therefore, let him carefully avoiding dwell afar.
- 16 What is at variance with convention let him not practise

I The four *upāyas* are, of course, war, dissension, conciliation, and bribery.

~~the~~ Kinsmen, crocodiles among ~~the~~ lotuses of secrets of *mantras* and sciences, not to act without good omens, and disasters (?)

18 It must be told with avoidance of the bad though possessed of knowledge, he is like a snake in the house

19 An adherent from the enemy's side one should not trust

20 According to merit let him entertain ~~Ananda~~ in his service

21 Let him test by their sentiments

22 A hero is not quickly known by the weak intelligence let him promptly test in an unknown matter.

23 He may be known by his gestures

24 A composed person not

25 One whose mind is without apprehension is calm

26 And without anger for even children and so forth conceal that.

27 Upon learning the fall of his family a wise man under these circumstances would have recourse even to an enemy's side, if possessed of wisdom

28 Unfailingly in the heart the [effects of] former good and evil arise, [so] the bad man would not ~~be~~ met as such

29 The ~~deeds~~ are not to be highly honoured

30 So says the Preceptor. ~~Bṛhaspati~~

So in the *Bṛhaspati Sūtra* the Fifth Chapter

17 The text is here corrupt, some proverbial expression apparently being involved. The import seems to be that counsel, study, and secrets, also misfortunes, should not be incautiously spoken of.

18 Accusative after *vi-shvas*, as in 1 38

19 Reading *vro? śharcā sahāsa-nā jñāyate*

'Conceal' *vi-vi* may, it appears, sometimes have been used.

27 Reading *nayayukt* in The meanings, however, are clear.

VI (*Naya*)

1 He ~~should not~~ ^{know} the action, ~~suitable~~ to place and time, also policy and impolicy

2 Not what is contrary to Veda, manliness, and pride.

3 Let him observe friendly acts

4 Policy is carried out after examination by councillors

5 Let him examine what is to be done or ~~not~~ to be done in conjunction with councillors living by their intellect.

6 Whoso can design even an unwelcome measure, he is to be employed in counsel

7 Let him acquire wealth.

8 Whoso has store of wealth, has friends and righteousness and knowledge and merit and prowess and intelligence

9 By one without riches riches cannot be acquired as an elephant by one without elephant

10 In riches is rooted the world.

11 And therein are all things

12 A man without riches is a dead man and
Candāla

13 Likewise let him acquire knowledge ~~the root~~ of righteousness.

14 In knowledge is rooted the world.

15 Knowledge again is all

16 So says the Guru.

So in the *Bṛhāspati Sūtra* the Sixth Chapter.

8 Reading *an karyam* in place of *vikaram*. The sense would seem to be that one who would employ his intelligence in measures which he personally disliked would be a trustworthy councillor.

F. W. THOMAS.

